

THE CONTINUING MANIFESTATIONS OF THE POWER OF GOD IN CHURCH HISTORY

(Outline, with some names and books referred to)

I. Is God in History? Some secular interpretations of history.

(Cf. David Bebbington, Patterns of History: A Christian View, 1979).

1. The cyclical view. John T. Marcus, "Time and the Sense of History" in Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 3, 1961 (Chinese and Indian views).
Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, 11 vols., 1934-59.
2. The progressive view. Lionel Kochan, Acton on History, 1954.
J.B. Bury, The Idea of Progress, 1920 (a critique).
3. The historicist view. J.G. von Herder, Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, 1784-91.
Leopold von Ranke, The Theory and Practice of History, ed. by G.G. Iggers, 1979.
4. Marxist. G^eorgy V. Plekhanov, The Development of the Monist View of History, 1895.

II. A Christian View of History.

1. Growing recognition of a Christian alternative to secular interpretations.
Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Christian Interpretation of History" in the American Historical Review, 1949.
Herbert Butterfield, Christianity and History, 1949.
Writings on Christianity and History, ed. McIntire
J.B. Bury, "Cleopatra's Nose", 1903 (in Selected Essays, ed. H. Temperley)
2. Basic Christian convictions about history.
 - a. Creation, and Providence.
 - b. Man's free will.
 - c. The interworkings of God's sovereignty and man's freedom.
 - d. God's interventions in history.
 - e. God's victory: the end of history.

III. God in Post-Biblical History.

1. Continuity: the God of the Bible is the God of church history.
2. A warning: beware of false absolutes, simple patterns and dogmatism.
Reinhold Niebuhr, Faith and History, 1949.
Ch. Dallet, A Controversial Catechism, 1859 (and Eglise de Coree, 1874)
3. Eusebius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History, 324 AD, and "imperial theol.")
4. Augustine, Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans, 426 AD.
5. Orosius, Seven Books of History Against the Pagans, early 5th c.

IV. Christian Patterns in History: Conclusion.

1. God at work in the "hinges of history".
2. Patterns of advance and recession. K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols., 1937-45.
3. God at work through particular people, at special times.

Samuel H. Moffett

The Continuing Manifestations of the Power of God in
Church History

I. Is God in Church History?

Before the historian can take up the subject given me, "The Continuing Manifestations of God in Church History", he must deal with a prior question. He will first be asked, "How can a historian say that God is in history at all"? This is the basic question, ^{if God is so continuously active manifesting his power in church history, how is it that more historians haven't noticed this?} for if God cannot be found in the history of man in general, than anyone who pretends to find him at work in church history cannot properly be called an historian at all.

Why is there this reluctance to accept church history as real history? The reason, very simply, is that ever since the end of the Middle Ages and the period called the Enlightenment the dominant philosophies of history have been essentially non-Christian. By the presuppositions of the Age of Reason, and by the definitions and methodologies which resulted from those presuppositions, any attempt to introduce God into the historical process soon came to be regarded as unscientific at best, superstitious at worst, and in either case unhistorical, that is, beyond the reasonable scope of the historian. It was commonly accepted that history must start with facts, not faith, whereas to bring God into the picture the historian must rely on faith. "The beginning of all knowledge," Descartes had said, "is doubt."

1. Secular views of history. Out of the Age of Reason, and the Age of Science which followed it, came four major secular schools of historical writing. One classification is that of David Bebbington who calls them the cyclical, the progressive, the historicist and the Marxian. (D.W. Bebbington, Patterns in History: A Christian View, Intervarsity Press, 1979; and see also Eric C. Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, Oxford Univ. Press, 1963, pp. 1-74).

a. The Cyclical View. This is the old pagan view of history tracing back to classical Greek and Chinese and Buddhist times. It is essentially fatalistic: the wheels of history turn but man does not turn them, nor does the Christian God. In the 19th c. it was revived by Nietzsche on an atheistic pessimistic model, and in the 20th by Oswald Spengler's The Decline

of the West (1928). Arnold Toynbee was ^{also} something of a cyclical historian, but he tried to make it more Christian by introducing into the cycles of the rise and fall of cultures a note of religious optimism. He compares the cycles to the turning of a chariot wheel. The rim rises and falls, but the wheel climbs upward to ever higher stages of religion. "If religion is a chariot," he wrote, "it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts to Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on earth". (A. Toynbee, Civilization on Trial, N.Y., Oxford Un. Pr., 1948, pp. 234 f.)

Since Christianity to him was only the highest religion yet developed, and not necessarily final, it is difficult to see how Toynbee has done anything but substitute religion for fate in the cyclical view of history, and religion is not God, at least not the Christian's God.

2. The Progressive View. The second historical school, the progressive, also would in general answer "no" to the question, "Is God in history?" Its basic point of view is rationalistic or evolutionary, or both. Toynbee's belief in human progress identifies him to some degree with this school, but the progressive school of history generally attributes the inevitable progress of the human race not to religion but rather to man's mind, especially the scientific mind, or to the process of natural selection in evolution as triumphantly discovered by Charles Darwin. Even before Darwin, Auguste Comte in the 1830s had predicted that science would be man's highway to perfection. (Positive Philosophy, tr. by Harriet Martineau, N.Y., D. Appleton, 1854, vol. II, p. 871, and ch. xv)

Christians too, of course, can have a sense of progress in history. When Lord Acton, a great historian and liberal Catholic adopted the idea of progress as a key to history he was perfectly sure that he was being true to his Catholic faith. "Not to believe in progress," he wrote, "is to question the divine government". (cited in Bebbington, p. 88) But is there not a dangerous naivete and over-simplification of history in too direct an identification of man's idea of progress with the will of God in history. What happens to God, then, when progress stops, as it did only a few years after Lord Acton spoke so confidently of progress as the will of God. Two world wars, a great depression, revolution in Russia and the rise of Hitler exploded the easy optimism of the progress historians. Read Reinhold Niebuhr's Faith and History for the most devastating theological critique of this view of history.

3. The Historicist View. Reaction against the idea of history as

inevitable progress began much earlier than with the American Niebuhr. It began with what is called historicism, a thoroughly German approach to history which owes much to another Niebuhr, not Reinhold but Barthold G. Niebuhr and his History of Rome (1811), and which traces back beyond him to J. G. von Herder's Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind (1784). Historicism even penetrated church history through the influence of Leopold von Ranke, historian of the popes. Secular though it is, essentially, there were two important emphases of the historicists which sit comfortably with the Christian faith. The first is an emphasis on "what actually happened", as von Ranke put it, that is, on the collection of facts. Begin with facts not theory. And second, a realization that history is more than a catalogue of facts. Facts require interpretation and that requires what the historicists call historical understanding (Verstehen), a kind of intuition, almost, not far removed from faith, when handled by Christian historians. What Ranke actually said, as Bebbington points out (p. 107) was not that the thing to be emphasized is "what actually happened", but "what essentially happened" in history, and to distil the essence from the facts requires value judgment, intuition, perhaps even faith.

But not all the historicists were Christians, like von Ranke. The weakness of the movement was that when its historians excluded God from the essence of history it deteriorated into humanistic relativism. By what standard can one man's intuition be more correct than another's? Historical intuition needs a deeper standard than the nationalistic prejudices of German historians, said Ernst Troeltsch, himself a German, in the 1920s (p. 115) (cited by Bebbington, p. 115, from G.G. Iggers, The German Conception of History: the national tradition of historical thought from Herder to the Present, Middleton Ct., Wesleyan Univ., 1968, p. 189).

4. The Marxist View. The fourth category is the Marxist view of history. This is a combination of several viewpoints, notably the historicist and the evolutionary progressive, but it is so pervasive today even outside the communist bloc particularly in third-world academic circles like Japan and Latin America, and it is so restricted to economic interpretation and dialectical method that it is often considered a separate philosophy of history. Its classic exponent is neither Marx nor Engels, who were amateur historians, but Georgy Plekhanov whose book, The Development of the Monist View of History (1895: Moscow 1956) was the chief influence in the conversion of Lenin to Marxism (Bebb. p. 129). It was Plekhanov, not Marx or Engels, who first described Marxism as "dialectical materialism", which is not quite the same as

economic determinism but so near it that it is hard to tell the difference. The difference perhaps is that dialectical materialism allows a greater role to man's power to shape history, whereas economic determinism rules that man's economic condition, not man himself, determines human history. But even Plekhanov refuses to admit that there are great men in history, for great men are themselves the product of economic forces. Class struggle, not God, is the key to history. Plekhanov simply took the Darwinian concept of struggle for survival and applied it not to biology but to social science making history merely a branch of evolution, as Bebbington observes (p. 130).

There have been Christians, too, who have somehow combined a Marxist pattern of history with their faith, especially among the theologians of liberation. They follow, however, not Plekhanov so much as a school of "Western Marxism" which under Max Horkheimer broke with Stalinism, and disillusioned with Russian politics turned towards more human social concerns. Where traditional Marxist history looks forward with optimism to the triumph of communism, the Western Marxists are almost apocalyptically pessimistic about the future.

II. A Christian View of History.

1. Growing Recognition of a Christian alternative to secular interpretation.

Faced with so sweeping an exclusion of God from history by the world's most powerful philosophies of history, how can the church historian speak to his peers about "The Continuous Manifestations of God in Church History"? Not many have been brave enough to try, except in church. When my own teacher, Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale was elected to the presidency of the prestigious American Historical Association he was Professor of Oriental History as well as Professor of Missions at Yale, and his secular colleagues hoped he would play it safe in his inaugural address and forget about missions and stick to oriental history. But he chose as his theme, "The Christian Understanding of History", and met a cool reception. Appreciation was rather thin in that circle of professional historians, mostly non-Christian. But the publication of that address in 1949 was the opening gun, as it were, of a Christian counter-attack against history without God. That same year saw the publication of Reinhold Niebuhr's Faith and History, and in England a highly respected voice was heard in Cambridge, that of Sir Herbert Butterfield on Christianity and History.

Herbert Butterfield, soon to be appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge brushed aside the wide lists of types and categories and schools of history and said flatly, "Let us make sure of one thing--in the long run there are only two alternative views about life or about history... Either you trace everything back to sheer blind Chance, or you trace everything back to God." ("God in History", Church of England Newsletter, July 1952, cited in Herbert Butterfield: Writings on Christianity and History, ed. by C.T. McIntire, N.Y., Oxford Un. Pr., 1979, p. 8)

The Christian agrees, and more and more others are beginning to agree also. Without God, all of the familiar categories--cyclical, progressive, historicist and Marxist--despite their useful insights and partial grasp of important truths, fizzle out in failure like spent rockets. The cyclical view turns history into a squirrel cage; the fragile hopes of the progressives blow up in our faces with every world war or nuclear explosion; the historicists fall to fighting over competing nationalist claims of fault or innocence in the calamities of international rivalries; and the Marxists, who pointed to man's productivity as the key to human progress, have seen their own communist countries hopelessly out-produced by the hated capitalists.

Butterfield himself is a good example of the revival of a Christian interpretation of history among historians. A Regius Professor of History at Cambridge is no ordinary don. He is professor by appointment of the King. It is therefore of no little interest to note in this rationalist, scientific 20th century that with each new appointment to that chair the tilt towards the Christian faith becomes more pronounced. In 1903 the Regius Professor of Modern History was J.B. Bury, an enormously learned man but contemptuous of Christian credulity. He had no sooner succeeded Lord Acton to the chair than he made his distaste of Christian interpretations plain. All his life Acton had labored to show that history has a meaning. Though an optimistic progressive historian, as a Catholic he was not unaware of the corrupting possibilities of sin. He is famous for the aphorism, "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely". J.B. Bury on the other hand, in his very first lecture as Regius Professor bluntly told his hearers that history has no meaning. He amplified his disbelief in later writings. He said, for example, that it was not God who changed the whole pattern of history just before the birth of Christ at a turning point in the story of Rome--it was not God; it was the shape of Cleopatra's nose! Pure chance, a woman's beauty, he said accelerated

the fall of the Republic and the rise of the Empire (J.B. Bury, "The Science of History", 1903, and "Cleopatra's Nose", 1916, in Selected Essays of J.B. Bury, ed. by Harold Temperley, Cambridge U. Pr., 1930, cited by C.T. McIntire, p. xxviii).

But after Bury, the tide at Cambridge turned against the view that there is no God in history, and no meaning in history but history itself. The last three Regius Professors of Modern History there have all been active, confessing Christians: David Knowles, a Catholic monk (to 1955); Sir Herbert Butterfield, a Methodist lay-preacher (1955-1968); and Owen Chadwick (1968--), the present incumbent, an Anglican and a church historian.

2. The Basic Christian convictions about history. However much Christian historians may differ from each other on many points, on one thing they generally do agree: God does manifest his power in history. A Christian interpretation of history begins with God, continues with God, and ends with God. And they would also, in general, agree with the following main points of a Christian understanding of history, as Latourette summarized them in his significant address to the Historical Society. (I follow his summary rather loosely):

a. Creation. God created the universe, and God is its ruling power. He gives history its shape. "Ultimately, and in his own way, so the Christian view maintains," said Latourette, "God is sovereign in the affairs of man" (Latourette, "The Christian Understanding of History", American Historical Review, LIV, No. 2, Jan 1949, p. 263)

b. Man's free will. At the climax of creation, God created man in His own image. What that means is not clearly defined in Scripture, but may be taken to include the elements of reason and free will in man's nature. "Man's freedom is limited..but..still real," said Latourette. "Human history is in large part tragedy and the tragedy consists in man's abuse of his freedom." (p. 263).

3. The interworkings of God's sovereignty and man's freedom. Where man's abuse of his freedom, and God's sovereign power confront each other in history, the Christian sees the power of God manifested in two different ways: in judgment and in mercy. The history of God's mercy is salvation history and often hidden from man's view, but God is merciful both to the just and to the unjust and his mercies are not limited to the work of salvation. He exerts his ameliorating power in all of history.

d. God's interventions in history. "The distinctively Christian understanding of history", says Latourette, --and this is what marks it off from all other philosophies of history, whether secular or religious-- "centers upon historical occurrences". These come to a focus in the life of one person: in the incarnation, the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. But just as God was at work in history before the coming of Jesus, so he is still at work. God's agent in post-New Testament history is the Holy Spirit, who, however, witnesses to Christ not to Himself (John 15:26), and who calls people into the fellowship of the Church, of which Christ not the Spirit is the Head.

e. God's final victory. The Christian believes that whether through judgment or through mercy, and whether within time or beyond time as we know it, the final end of victory will be the victory of God.

III. God in Post-Biblical History.

1. The principle of continuity: the God of the Bible is the God of Church History. Ever since New Testament times, Christians have accepted as fact that the manifestations of the power of God would not end with the apostles. They took to themselves, and to their own times, the promise of Jesus in John 14, 15 and 16 of his continuing presence and power, and of the encouragement of the Holy Spirit. This recognition runs through all the earliest church histories as Christians considered the meaning of the first centuries in the life of the church. To Eusebius, the 4th century "father of church history", the axis of history ran straight from Abraham to Christ to Constantine, from the Old Testament to the New and on to his own age. The God of the Bible is the same God who is sovereign in the history of his church, for he is Lord of all history.

We have already noted the objection of secular historians to this intrusion of religion and faith into historical science. But if this is, as they assert, a prejudicial lack of objectivity, we can only reply that there is no such thing as objective history, and perhaps quote Benedetto Croce (1771-1858) greatest of Italian philosophers of history to the effect that philosophy and history cannot be separated. "Philosophy as a separate discipline," he wrote, "is liquidated by being converted into history". The Christian historian could add that faith and history, too, belong together. Faith informs our interpretation of history; and history affirms and corrects our faith. Ultimately, history merges into faith.

2. A Warning. But here a word of caution is needed. Faith is not a substitute for facts. Unlike Biblical scholars of the Old and New Testaments, whose splendid presentations began this series of cross-departmental seminars, in looking for manifestations of the power of God a church historian has to leave the shelter of a divinely inspired and canonical interpretation of ancient history and seek with his own all too fallible human judgment to discern where God is at work in more recent times, and to distinguish God's work from the obstructive deeds of rebellious, unbelieving man. The church historian has no "I, the Lord, have done this.." to guide him through his historical records, and studying church history, unfortunately can reveal as much of the power of evil at work as of the power of God.

Moreover, much of the record in the history of the church is such a tangled mixture of good and bad that whereas it is comparatively easy to make the general observation, "God is at work in church history", it is quite another thing to pick and choose particulars out of the ever-changing rhythms of man's life on earth, whether in the church or out of it, and point to this or that significant event, and say with finality, "There is the hand of God at work." For example, we frequently list revivals as the work of God, and blame church splits on the sins of Christians who have failed. But some completely reverse that judgment. There are those who rationalize church schisms as God's way of purifying his church, and there are others who are reluctant to admit that God is at work in revivals. They see the great crusades rather as temptations to spiritual pride, or even as man-made manipulations of the human will.

Reinhold Niebuhr, in his Faith and History, has a useful chapter on the perplexities and complexities of even a Christian view of history. He titles his chapter, "False Absolutes in Christian Interpretations of History". No version of Christian history, he writes, "has been completely immune to the error of claiming absolute and final significance for contingent, partial, and parochial moral, political and cultural insights" (p. 196)

As a case in point, I might suggest that you read and compare Catholic and Protestant histories of the Reformation, particularly the older ones. The two most famous histories written in that period were, on the Protestant side the Centuries of Magdeburg (in 13 volumes, 1559-74),

which spends more time proving that the pope is the Anti-Christ than in manifesting the power of God in church history, and on the Catholic side, the famous Annales Ecclesiastici (1588-1607) of Cardinal Baronius (for more on the period see Glanmor Williams, Reformation Views of Church History, London, Lutterworth Press, 1970).

There is a little known illustration of this from Korean church history. We honor ~~Father~~ Charles Dallet as the father of Korean church history for his Histoire de l'Eglise de Coree which he finished in 1874. Most ^{people} are unaware of the fact that fifteen years earlier ^{in India} he had written another book, a Controversial Catechism of church history (1859). Here are some sample quotations to show how what to one church historian is a manifestation of the mighty power of God, to another is the work of the devil. I quote from Dallet:

- "Q. What is Protestantism?... A. ..the symbol (creed) of the Protestant faith is.. 'I believe in nobody but myself, and I protest against the catholic Church". (p. 14).
- "Q. How was Protestantism first established? A. Like all other past heresies..Protestantism used two ways to secure followers: corruption and violence." (p. 17).
- "Q. What sort of men were the apostles of the new religion? A. Apostate priests and dissolute monks like Luther, Cranmer, Zwingli.. scoundrels of the worst description like Calvin, Beza (and) Farel.. (p. 17).
- "Q. What says Luther himself..? A. That he was inspired by the Devil." (p. 23) (Ch. Dallet, Controversial Catechism or Short Answers to the Objections of Protestants Against the True Religion, 5th ed., Bangalore, Spectator Press, 1894)

Let that be a lesson to us of the danger of false absolutes. We can be just as badly carried away by our own prejudices in historical judgments. Let us be willing to admit that Luther and even Calvin were not always perfect instruments of the power of God in history, much less our sinful selves. Nevertheless God did use them, and used them mightily. He can even use us to manifest his power. So despite all the difficulties and dangers of over-simplification, and with full acknowledgment of the Christian's complete fallibility and proneness to error, we must go on to say that if the historian is a Christian there is no possible way for him to avoid recognition of the mighty hand of God in history.

3. Eusebius of Caesarea and his "imperial" church history. The earliest church historians, Eusebius, Socrates and Sozomen, remembering the Biblical assertions of God's sovereignty over the rise and fall of nations--Israel, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Persia--saw parallels in the rise of Rome. Even earlier, Origen not long after 220 or 230 AD con-

cluded that God had used Rome, particularly the Roman peace and the system of Roman highways, as a praeparatio evangelium, a preparation for the coming of Christ and the spread of the gospel. But Origen died in the great Diocletian persecution of 250 AD, and it was not easy for Christians under torture to see the hand of God in Roman imperialism. With the conversion of Constantine in the fourth century, however, the picture changed. Eusebius, the father of church history, brought the so-called "imperial theology" of the age of Constantine directly into his interpretation of history. "Imperial theology" glorified the Christian emperor as the direct agent of the Lord. The emperor called church councils, intervened in church disputes and eventually even in the election of popes. To Eusebius the historian, empire and church were both ordained by God for the salvation of mankind. In his Life of Constantine, which is more an oration than a history, Eusebius is carried so far as to almost identify Rome, now a Christian state, with the Kingdom of God. The Eastern Church (Orthodox), following Eusebius, made Constantine a saint and gave him the exalted title, "Equal of the Apostles" (Isapostolos).

Augustine. Eusebius was quite right in seeing the hand of God at work in the conversion of the emperor and of his empire. His fault was lack of balance. History has a way of confounding even its best interpreters. Only two generations or so after the death of the emperor who made Rome Christian, Christian Rome fell to the barbarians, and it took a greater philosopher of history than Eusebius, St. Augustine to take up the difficult task of explaining why, if Christian Rome was a manifestation of the power of God, it was now falling to pieces before the shocked eyes of the shrinking Christian world.

Augustine's book The City of God, the most influential philosophy of history ever written, rescued the Christian interpretation of history from the over-simplifications of Eusebius and his "imperial theology". Let the pagans tie earthly prosperity to the worship of their gods, he wrote in effect, but that is not the Christian way. Let the pagans say that Rome fell because it turned away from its own gods to the Christian God. No so. Rome fell because of its own sins and injustices. So let Christians beware of loose thinking about "Christian" Rome and too

easy and identification of Roman benefits with God's blessings. Christians credit Rome with with the Roman peace as a preparation for the gospel. That may be true. But there is a difference between Roman peace and God's peace--and Augustine lists the oppressions and cruelties of the Roman wars which imposed the peace, quoting the remark of one of the conquered, a Briton, "The Romans make a desert and call it a peace." (quoted by R. Bainton, Christendom: A Short History of Christianity and its Impact on Western Civilization, I, N.Y., Harper & Row, 1966, p. 127)

In short, he refuses to deify the state, any state, even one that calls itself Christian. For there are two cities, he says, the City of Earth (the state) which will fall, and which is no more moral when rising than when falling, and the City of God, which endures forever:

"Two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men; but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of conscience... In the one, the princes and the nations it subdues are ruled by the love of ruling; in the other, the princes and subjects serve one another in love... The one delights in its own strength, represented in the persons of its rulers; the other says to its God, 'I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength.'"

(Augustine, The City of God, chap. 28)

Orosius. Unfortunately, for the first thousand years and more after Augustine, it was a church history written by his disciple, Paulus Orosius, and not the master's City of God, who most influenced mediaeval Christian thinking on history. Augustine's work, says A.T. van Leeuwen (in his Christianity in World History, tr. HH Hoskins, N.Y., Scribner's, 1964, p. 281) was "too strong an intellectual meat, it seems, for the tender stomach of Western Christianity". Having mapped out his overall view of history, Augustine left to Orosius the lesser task, as he considered it, of sorting out the facts of history as they might fit into the master plan of God in history. Orosius dutifully wrote Seven Books of History against the Pagans which became the chief church history textbook of the middle ages. But his was a shallower mind than Augustine. He deserted the critical theological insight of Augustine who never completely identified the City of God with the organized church, nor the city of earth with the state, for a return to what we might call the simple tit-for-tat school of history, more like Eusebius, that is, that God rewards the good and punishes the bad in history, so Christian nations rise and pagan nations fall. To do this, he had to paint the rising barbarians

as better than they were. All through the centuries from the fall of Rome to the Reformation and beyond, such oversimplifications of current events, combined with the rise of hagiography, over-idealized lives of the saints, beginning with the Historia Lausiaca of Palladius about 420 AD and the Life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus which was published even earlier, around 397 AD--these two trends, unsophisticated theological interpretations of history and exaggeration of the virtues of Christian lives and institutions became the hall-mark of mediaeval church history.

In general, it was taught, Rome, the empire, had become corrupt and weak so it fell; Rome the church remained pure and preserved what was worth saving; and the barbarians soon became Christian, so the rise of the West began. The more modern era has not been free from somewhat similar simplicities, this time among Protestant interpreters of history. The Catholic nations of southern Europe, they pointed out, became corrupt; northern Europe turned Protestant, and by the rewarding Providence of God, it was to northern Europe that the industrial revolution brought economic prosperity and scientific progress, while the south lapsed into poverty, civil chaos and ignorance.

So also, I regret to say, with some modern interpretations of the modern missionary movement of the 19th century. Out of the west, civilized by the Christian faith and therefore materially blessed and politically powerful, so some writers seemed to imply, came the missionary to offer to lesser developed parts of the world the same opportunities for advancement which God has graciously granted to the west. Even so wise an observer and leader of the missionary movement as Robert E. Speer, could write in 1902 with the patronizing condescension of his age, "No other movement has accomplished anything like the proportionate results affected by missions in pacifying and civilizing the lower races." (Missionary Principles and Practice, N.Y., Revell, 1902, p. 412)

True though that may be, apart from pejorative phrases like "lower races", I detect something of the Eusebian and Orosian rather than

he Augustinian interpretation of how God manifests his power in church history in this. It is like the boasting of some American writers about their "Christian nation, the United States". And even here in Korea, if you will forgive me for saying so, I have heard comparisons of Israel and Korea implying that if Korea will only continue to turn to God in the great explosion of church growth which we are seeing all about us here, it will be blessed materially as well as spiritually and will become a power in Asia not only for Christian mission but also in international leadership toward building a new Asia. Now there is a good deal of truth in that. A nation that turns to God will be blessed, and will become a blessing. And I agree with John R. Mott who once declared his conviction that if the Christian faith were wiped out all over the world, in every nation, but survived in Korea, there is enough vitality in the Korean church to carry the gospel once again to the ends of the earth. I agree. But I begin to disagree when the promise of blessing is linked too closely to material advantages. Israel gave the world its greatest blessing, the Lord Jesus Christ, but Israel's history has seen more tragedy than most.

Where then can we turn to say with conviction that God is indeed at work with power in the world since Pentecost?

IV. Conclusion: The Pattern of Church History.

There are three levels at which Christians usually discern a pattern of God at work in history. First, His mercy and His judgment seem to alternate in the rise and fall of nations or civilization; second, in the influence for good or for evil of great personalities; and third, in the growth or decline of the church. In mercy, he allows or arranges the rise to power; in judgment he rebukes the proud and unjust.

But outside of Biblical history, it is not easy to pinpoint historically the exact contours of these manifestations of God's power. Great personalities are usually such a mixture of good and bad; their influence is ambiguous, and their hearts are hidden from our view. The

part which God plays in the rise and fall of nations is subject to many different interpretations. And in the discussion of the divine role in the reform and expansion of the church, the emphasis too often focuses on organization and an exercise of power that is not always God-directed. So rather than pursue such patterns, it may be sufficient to try to discover some turning points in the last two thousand years of history where church and world have both been sharply turned for better or for worse to new directions. Christian and non-Christian alike can recognize these hinges of history. Perhaps only the Christian will see in them the mighty manifestations of the power of God, but both will agree that here and there the course of history was significantly changed.

The best known and most comprehensive attempt to discern the ebb and flow of such a grand Christian pattern is that of Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette's History of the Expansion of Christianity. In seven volumes he charts a rhythm of advance and recession measured not only by such evangelistic criteria as geographical and numerical increase but considers a wide range of other factors as well, such as the internal vitality of the Christian faith and its external effect on the historical environment, and, in turn, the environment's effect on the church.

His outline is now familiar, but I will repeat it. He breaks away from a static division of church history into ancient, mediaeval and modern periods, and instead divides the 2000 years into eight stages:

- I. Five Hundred Years of Advance (1-500). Christianity wins the Roman world.
- II. Four Hundred and Fifty Years of Recession (500-950). The "great recession": barbarian invasions in the west; the fall of Rome; and the rise of Islam in the east.
- III. Two Hundred Years of a Second Advance (950-1350). The conversion of Europe; and the rise of the west.
- IV. The Second Recession (1350-1500). The waning of the middle ages and the decline of the Roman church.
- V. The Third Advance (1500-1750). Reformation and Counter-reformation.
- VI. The Third Brief Recession (1750-1815). The rise of secular- and fall of Catholic Europe; but an evangelical awakening in Protestantism, which led to..
- VII. The Great Century (1815-1914): the modern missionary movement, and the period of greatest expansion.

VIII. And finally, of course, The Present. It is too early to tell whether it will be advance or recession, but Latourette calls it "Advance Through Storm".

Of course there are other ways to follow the hand of God in church history. As in Biblical history He worked in a special way through people--Abraham, Moses, the prophets, and the great climax of the incarnation--so the line of history continues after Christ in the age of the church, or more properly, the age of the Spirit. For those with eyes to see He was active in the conversion of Constantine and Southern Europe; in Gregory and Benedict, both preserving the church in times of disaster, the one through the papacy and the other through the monastery. God worked through Charlemagne and the Celtic missionaries for the conversion of northern Europe; and through Hildebrand and Francis of Assisi toward the reform of the church and a revival of missions. Luther and Calvin acknowledged the power of His hand in the Reformation; and Zinzendorf and Wesley in the Great Awakening; Carey, Morrison and Livingstone in the modern missionary movement. He still works in times of revival and increase; but he is no less surely at work in days of darkness when the faithful are persecuted for righteousness' sake.

If in Asia, in the past, the manifestations of His power have been less visible, with only two historically significant periods of advance: the long march of the Nestorians across Central Asia in the 5th to 7th centuries; and the return of the faith, first Catholic, then Protestant from the 16th to the 20th century--let us not forget that the last of the apostles, who called himself "the least", appears in church history as the greatest of them all. Who can say that the last and least of the world's continental Christian communities, the church of Asia, will not in our own time, or some time yet to come, be the instrument of God's power for the completion of the Great Commission and the reaching of the ends of the earth with the good news which is still the power of God unto salvation.

-- Samuel Hugh Moffett
Seoul, Korea
Feb. 11, 1981

And if in Asia, his manifestations of power have been less visible -
 with only two historically significant periods of advance. The long march of the Nestorians
 across ~~As the catalyst to Christianity in Central Asia in the 5th & 6th centuries; & the~~
 return of the faith, Catholic in the 17th & 18th centuries; & the Protestant ~~in the 18th & 19th & the 20th~~ let
 us not forget that the last of the apostles, who called himself "the least", appears in old books as the greatest of
 them all. Who can say that the last ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Christ~~ world's central, its community, the child of Asia,
 will not in our time or some-time yet to come, be the instrument of God's ~~power~~ ^{in his final} to complete the Great Commission -

need the ~~end~~
 of the ~~world~~
 with the
 goodness of
 the ~~world~~
 which is
 shall the
 power of
 God with
 salvation.

And He is still at work, ~~is still working~~ The mighty manifestations of His power
 are with us & before us. "At times," concludes Lotzette at the end of his 7 volume
 in ~~understands~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{understanding} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~great~~ ^{of} ~~Argentina,~~
 history, "the Christian is staggered by the all too obvious and clamant evil in his
 own heart and in the world about him, but in what he believes to be his moments
 of clearest insight he is certain that God and His Christ will triumph... ~~the~~ His
 confident ~~that~~ faith is that in those who give themselves to God as they see Him in
 Jesus there is working the power of endless life, & that from them God will build, to
 be consummated beyond time, the heavenly city, the ideal community, in which will
 be realized fully the possibilities of the children of God. This eternal life & this
 ideal community are, in the last analysis, not the fruit of man's striving, but the
 gift of a love which man does not deserve, and are from the quite unmerited grace of God."
 (Lotzette, Expansion, vol. VII, p. 505.)

imperative of conscientious work in the teaching of children can be grateful for opportunities that were made possible through MLWC.

She is made the subject of this brief sketch not only because of what she was and contributed, but also because she was typical, extraordinarily typical, of countless others, similarly trained and motivated, who have given themselves without stint to the church's mission and program, establishing Sunday Schools and new churches, conducting training classes, guiding youth leaders and children's workers, on and on, year after year.

WHY DID THEY DO IT?

Over much of this time they did it with slight remuneration — sometimes disgracefully little. They did it because they were, themselves, committed Christians with a vision and understanding of selfless service. They did it for love of Christ and his Church.

Sometimes, they were taken for granted. They did not receive even the best that words can do, though they doubtless were thanked profusely and were deeply appreciated by individual pastors and others. (A standing vote of thanks by a presbytery at the end of 10 years of sacrificial, life-draining service is not much. Maybe some church governing bodies have better and more imaginative and lasting ways of doing this than others.) Some people can recognize that many of the best of these devoted servants have worked harder and more effectively, with more to show for it and with less remuneration than many, if not most, of the pastors.

However that may be, the DCEs, the employed trainers of teachers and workers with youth, the pioneering founders of Sunday schools and churches — the ones who do the really hard and basic work of the church, without which there would be precious few to hear our great and persuasive sermons — deserve our abiding thanks in every way that we can demonstrate it. □

**FROM MY
STUDY WINDOW**
By W.B.J. MARTIN

MONDAY • In my recent reading I was delighted to find an old name recurring and being discussed with new appreciation — and that in unexpected places. The June 23 issue of *The New Republic*, not a journal usually notable for its concern with theology, has a glowing five-page article on Herbert Butterfield. Many of us recall at least the last line of his fine book, *Chris-*

tianity and History, “Hold to Christ and for the rest be uncommitted.” Maybe some of us left it at that, but having just finished Professor John Clive's article, intriguingly headed “The Prying Yorkshireman,” I am resolved to lose no time securing from the library the other books of Butterfield's mentioned there, and in particular one of his very earliest, *Whig Interpretation of History* (1931), which was soon followed by *The Origins of Modern Science*. In all his books, according to Professor Clive, Butterfield raised searching questions about the assumptions, conscious and implicit, underlying historical writings, past and present.

TUESDAY • Herbert Butterfield, who died in 1979, full of years and honors, was Regius Professor of History at Cambridge (England) and was vice chancellor at the same university. He may not have been taken as seriously as he deserved, since he was that unfashionable thing, a Methodist lay preacher and a north-country man who never lost his manner of speech — two things that didn't go down well with the elegant Cambridge grandees. But, as he himself put it, “there is in the Christian tradition a healthy regard for the material world, compared with which some of our modern liberals have seemed to favor of Manichaeism.”

WEDNESDAY • I was a prisoner in my own home today awaiting a promised long-distance call that never came. I can only marvel at the discourtesy (or is it lack of imagination?) of some of my so-called friends.

THURSDAY • When I can read nothing else I can always dip into the dictionary. Coming upon that overworked word “heuristic,” so beloved of theological writers, I was humiliated to discover that I had never had occasion to use it and had, in fact, never bothered to look up its precise meaning. Then I discovered from my *Oxford Concise* that it is defined as “serving to discover,” which didn't help much! Then, by chance, I happened to be reading an article on “clichés,” and everything swam into focus. “A cliché is a traditional form of human expression which, because of repetitive use in social life, has lost its original heuristic power. Although it manages to stimulate behavior it avoids reflection on meanings.” Now that that is cleared up, I still don't think I shall find many occasions to use the word.

FRIDAY • In 1836 Chateaubriand was saying something which sounds as if it were written yesterday: “Nowadays everything grows old in a few hours; reputations fade, a work passes away in a moment. Everybody writes, nobody reads serious-

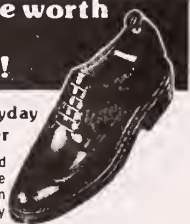
ly.” And following that line John Stuart Mill uttered the lament, “The world gorges itself with intellectual food and, as a result, bolts it.”

SATURDAY • One of my best friends has spent ten years of his long life writing a book that was to have been his *magnum opus*. Alas, no publisher wanted it, so his friends have clubbed together to get his book privately printed, but he feels sadly let-down not to have a well-known publisher's name on the spine!

SUNDAY • A Sunday well-spent brings a week of content. My Sunday was spent attending morning worship and a sacred concert in the afternoon. I should have a good week with such a splendid start! □

• **WORK HAS BEGUN** at the Robert E. Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary on a guide to resources related to the Christian mission in China. Correspondence, diaries, manuscripts, pamphlets and mission magazines and journals emanating from the Christian mission in China constitute the largest quantity of primary documentation on China in American libraries and archives. While scholars recognize the importance of these documents for scholarly research, their substance and locations are largely unknown to scholars. The guide, when completed, will indicate in detail what documents exist and where they are located. The first volume of the series includes Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Publication is planned for early 1983. The advisory committee for the project is composed of persons with professional experience as China scholars, librarians and archivists. The project is under the direction of Archie R. Crouch, founder of the index for *Daily Report: Peoples' Republic of China*, published quarterly by NewsBank in collaboration with the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the U.S. government. Librarians and archivists who would like to have their collections of China mission resources included in this guide are invited to contact the China Mission Resources Project, Speer Library, Box 111, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

This shoe can be worth \$3,600 to you a year from today!



It's Hanover... and it's payday every day you take an order

Earn extra money evenings and weekends by showing Hanover shoe values to friends and neighbors. Earn up to \$300 a month spare time by saving customers \$15 to \$20 a pair on all-leather shoes. Hundreds of styles, sizes and colors. And with your first ten orders, you get a FREE PAIR OF SHOES OR BOOTS. YOUR CHOICE Plus cash-on-the-spot commissions that add up to thousands of extra dollars yearly. FREE catalog and details. Hanover Shoe, Dept. 3479 Hanover PA 17331

God Empowers Gideon (Called to Be a Champion)

By ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON

Scripture Background: Judges 6:1-8:11

Lesson Focus: Judges 6:3-6, 11-16; 7:20-21

Gideon lived in difficult times. Joshua, who succeeded Moses as the leader of Israel, had broken the back of the Canaanites and divided the Promised Land among the 12 tribes, but Israel was not yet stable internally in her religious faith or externally from the depredations of her neighbors.

1. Israel's Need (6:1-8). The inspired historian put it very succinctly: "The people of Israel did what was evil in the sight of the Lord and the Lord gave them into the hand of Midian seven years." In other words, religious declination brought on a weakening of the national fiber and eventually political and economic disaster.

The Midianites represented a desert confederation, with whom Israel's history had long been intermeshed and who relied on the domesticated camel to open up entirely new configurations. Each year in the spring, they swarmed over the land like grasshoppers in number and despoiled the people of their crops in the interior of the land.

Even in secret caves and valleys the peasants found it difficult to secure their harvests; the villages were being abandoned and the people took themselves to caves and dens where their families might be hidden from the marauders. At the end of seven years, the people were brought very low. As there so often is in times of extremity, there was a movement back to God. The people, filled with despair, without hope of relief, cried to God for help. His response, as usual, was in the calling of a leader.

2. Gideon's Call (6:11-24). The call came to Gideon as he threshed out his wheat in his wine press, to hide it from the invaders. Gideon hung back, hesitant, doubtful of his own ability. He was doubtful whether it was really a divine call and demanded repeated assurances, which did not come until he acted in response to the call that he could not shake off.

3. The First Step (6:25-32). That night, as Gideon pondered how he might begin his great task, the conviction came that he

ought to strike the first blow for the deliverance of his people by destroying the idol worship in which his own family was involved, the altar of Baal and the sacred pole or asherah beside it. He did not have the courage to strike openly, knowing that he would meet opposition from the villagers and even in his father's household, so he acted in the secrecy and stillness of the night.

As Gideon had foreseen, there was a mighty outcry when the people discovered that their idol had been demolished. Gideon's complicity was recognized and, for a time, his life was in danger.

He was saved by the unexpected support of one person, his own father, who dared to stand beside his son and to expose the people's blind faith in a fallen idol. Why had Joash not expressed his sentiments before? Perhaps he was the sort of man who preferred to remain silent, who will not take an unpopular stand until forced to.

When the issue became crystal clear — God vs. Baal, justice vs. injustice, the idol or his own son — he came out for God, the right. It may be that he had only then come to a decision, only when he saw what was at stake. A hint of that same nature was apparent in Gideon, slow, but sure and firm when aroused. If anything would arouse a man, it was this brutal passion, this sudden outbreak of cruelty, nursed by heathen custom. Joash's own conscience, meanwhile, testified that his son was right.

Joash's strong words carried weight and there was a quick conversion of the whole town because one man had acted decisively and another had dared to stand by his side. Word spread quickly that there was one man — two men — who dared to stand up for the Lord. As a result, weak knees were strengthened and when Gideon blew his trumpet, the people rallied to his side from all parts of the land.

4. The Victory. The preparations for the great battle are described in 6:33-7:32. Thirty-two thousand men had responded to Gideon's call. It must have seemed an insignificant force to pit against the hordes of the enemy, but Gideon's strategy required him to reduce the number still further. He bade all those who were fainthearted to return to their homes and was surprised, no doubt, when 22,000 accepted the offer. No modern commander is likely to take such a risk, but God said to Gideon, "There are still too many."

The Israelites were encamped on Mount Gilboa. The one spring in the area is at the foot of the mount, on the edge of the valley of Jezreel, where the Midianites were camped. Their archers could conceal themselves easily in the thick undergrowth which lined the other side of the stream which flowed from the spring.

Men who, in such an enemy-infested neighborhood, drank on their knees with their faces in the water were careless soldiers, not to be depended on in the carrying out of a delicate strategy such as Gideon was to follow. On the other hand, men who lapped the water from their hands with their eyes on the bushes beyond were men who could be trusted for such a mission.

The battle itself and the famous strategy which Gideon employed to win the victory is described in 7:24-8:21. In reconstructing the scene, we should remember that an Eastern army in Bible time was very different from a modern force. It could scarcely be called an army.

It was, rather, an undisciplined, unorganized horde, readily thrown into a panic and apt at anytime to fall into fighting among itself. Gideon's band, strategically located, gave in impression of irresistible attack carried through by a great host. The Midianites were panic-stricken. They suspected everybody and fought fiercely among themselves. Thus disorganized, they were easily cut down in flight by Gideon and the Israelites, who rose against them in the way.

5. What Is the Lesson for Us? Is it not that God accomplishes his purpose through people who consecrate themselves to his will? He is not dependent on numbers. Three hundred prepared men may be better than a mob of 32,000. Three hundred faithful members of the church may be better than a horde of indifferent men and women who are not to be distinguished from the rest of society. In any organization the real work is carried on by a faithful few, on whom the success of the endeavor depends. Every reform, every bit of progress, has been sponsored first by a minority.

As Whittaker Chambers wrote in his book *Witness*, "A small group of disciplined men and women acting as one can accomplish feats impossible to undisciplined groups many times their numerical strength." He was referring to the strength of disciplined communism. It is unfortunately true that the forces of evil often are more disciplined than the forces of God.

To Consider: Do we belong to the minority who count, on whom God can depend, or on the majority who retreat? What are some of the minority causes in the world or in the church that are worthy of success or are destined to succeed? To what work is God calling us? □

Lesson theme and scripture copyrighted by the Division of Education, National Council of Churches. Scripture quotations from the Revised Standard Version.

Lees-McRae College
Banner Elk, N.C. 28604



A Presbyterian-related two-year college. Small classes, free tutoring, skiing for credit. 650 students in the mountains of Western North Carolina.

Installation: Mission, History + Theology

~~My wife given back today to the old seminary in Pyongyang~~
I am particularly pleased as a missionary to be called to
~~There is close relation~~

This distinguished faculty, for from the beginning theology +
mission have belonged together

Pantaenus - left seminary for missionary

Muffett - as missionary came to seminary

Early days of seminary 1901 - 2 students

Seminary relation to Korean mission movement: China
China
Spain

Now just as theology + mission belong together in the
life of the church, so in the thinking of the church, theology
and history belong together.

INFORMATION SECTION
HQ, 1ST CAV DIV
APO 24
PHONE: DANGER 141 or 241
APR. 2, 1960

FILE NO. 10-14-20

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HQ., U.S. 1ST CAV. DIV., Korea (IO)-- The S1 Section of the 1st Battle Group, 7th Cavalry enlarged, remodeled and redecorated their office area last week.

One fore wall was moved back eight feet to provide the extra room.

The enlargement was to provide extra room for a couch to be used for persons visiting the section and waiting to see the commanding officer and executive officer of the battle group. The extra space was also needed to accommodate display cases containing the unit's trophies and awards.

Presently there are two trophy cases and a third is expected to be installed in the near future.

A large painting of "Custer's Last Stand" decorates one wall of the office.

Work on the project was done by the men of the Eng. Platoon and Korean civilians employed by the United States Army.

History and Theology

History & theology are but two different ways of looking at God & Man, & the two being together. (Theist. without history - on one hand, becomes vague & speculative, on the other, narrow & unyielding. God is the God of history.)

"Before the ~~world was made~~ —
"In the invisible things ... Rom. 1:20.



At the same time history without theology loses its meaning. From beginning (Hermas & Roman Clement, Augustine) Christian thinkers have insisted that ~~the world was made~~ the purpose of the world & the will of God were the same. Hermas, Roman Clement, Augustine write, The world was made for the church. Even in 20th century, historians have shown that history's deepest meaning is not in man, but in God's relation to man.

Toyoknee says "The course of human history consists of a series of encounters between individual human beings and God, in which each man, woman or child" decides to serve God or ignore him.

554.75
366.45
188.30

~~This is the hope of human history, it becomes~~
Thus At this point all human history becomes theological & missing & personal at the same time. If the hope of history

INFORMATION SECTION
HQ, 1ST CAV DIV
APO 24
PHONE: DANGER 141 or 241
APR. 2, 1960

FILE NO. 10-14-18

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HQ, U.S. 1ST CAV. DIV., Korea (IO)-- Sfc Tillman O. Webb Jr. of Co. B, 2d Battle Group, 12th Cavalry, was appointed by board of governors as manager and assistant custodian of the Cactus NCO Consolidation and Open Mess last week.

Sfc Webb replaced Sgt. Edward O. Waltz, who was selected as the new custodian to the NCO Club. Sgt. Waltz is a member of Ho. Co.

First Semester

Historical coverage

I. Josephus. (37-96)

BC 176 - AD 93.

II. Eusebius (260-339)

to 324

[Rufinus] (344-410)

to ~~374~~ 378

III. Eastern Church Historians (Greek)

Socrates (395-)

306-439

Sozomen (375-)

323-425

Theodoret (393-453)

Evagrius (536-594)

431-594

Palladius (367-431)

400; 5th c.

IV. Western Church History
Rufinus (344-410)

- 324

Sulpicius Severus (365-425)

Cassiodorus (485-550)

(West. ed. of Soc. Sci. Press.) extends.

357 (Martin); - 400.

306-425; to 519

V. Augustine - the philosophy of History. (354-430)

West. { Jerome
Idatius (Spain)
Primas of Aquitaine
Marin of Arles (Lansume)

- 378

379-468

379-455

455-551

379-534

379-566

East - Marcellinus (adds to Jerome)

West - Victor of Tunnis (Africa)

567-590.

John of Biclaro (Spain) adds to Victor + Idatius

Gregory of Tours

Isidore of Seville

Bede

to 591

to 672

to 726

[Gregory of Tours]

~~to 591~~

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

ca. 650-1154

J.	JOSEPHUS	B.C. 176 - A.D. 90.
E.	EUSEBIUS [RUFINUS]	- 324 A.D.
	SOCRATES	306 - 439
	SOZOMEN	323 - 425
E.	THEODRET	
	EVAGRIVS	431 - 594
	PALLADIUS	5 th c.
<u>W.</u>	RUFINUS	4 th c.
	SULPICIUS SEVERUS	367 - early 5 th c.
	* CASSIODORUS	306-425 → <u>519</u> .
	<u>AUGUSTINE</u>	
	JEROME + RUFINUS	327 - 378
	IDATIUS of Spain	379 - 468 468
	PROSPER of Aquitaine	379 - 458 455
	X MARIUS of Avanches	<u>455 - 581</u>

X	Victor of Tunis	AFRICA	379 - 566
	John of Biclaro		- to 590
X	Isidore of Seville		- 672
	Gregory of Tours	FRANCE	to 591
	BEDE	ENGLAND	726
	ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE	ENGLAND	600 - 1154

Callmann.

1. Mission + Samaritan - Jn. 4:38 "allots = Hellenists, first missionaries
why Samaritan - anti-Temple. p. 191.

2. Early Xty + Civilization.

(1) Attitudes of early Xty toward the world very complex. The judgment about the world, which passed on the world "is not one either of pure indifference, absolute approval or complete hostility" p. 196 ff.

Neither world, institutions had any ultimate value - unmet end of self (196)

but do have "provisional value" - as long as world allows world to continue. (197)

Meat, marriage, slave neither complete rejection nor complete
approval - (p. 198)

Worldship of Xty - "contains a ^{new} primitive yearning of appreciation of pagan culture" 198

(2) How principles were applied 200 ff.

AT ^{times} accept world - at times reject. Paganism not rejected,
but accepted only to the level of life consistent with gospel. (201)

Does not begin by law; a social policy (202)

Slavery, etc

As perhaps a pagan festival. But concedes it does not
involve worship of an idol. (203)

Slave - once it ceased to be religiously neutral, resistance inevitable (204)

(3) Shows a relationship Gnostics (accept world); Montanists (reject world) (204 ff.)

Epistle to Diognetus is best statement: "live in the world, but as strangers, live
as strangers, but in the world." - (205)

Goldman - Decline + Fall (Ch. 15-20)

The early King's dilemma - penetration of paganism in society. p 18ff.

Sneeze - "Jupiter, bless you". Should be subject to Japs deity? (15)

Janlands - p 20.

Lietzmann - pt. II (End, of the Chel. Man. anal)

First order requirement - no non-cynical ~~sex~~ intercourse

Forbidden vocations: prostitute, actor, gladiator, racing chariot driver
pagan priest, astrologer, soothsayer. (p 151) ~~3~~ f.

Caution: - sculptors or artists not to portray gods (p 152)

schoolmaster - bec. had to teach pagan myths. Part of teacher
was implicit, he need only be careful.

soldier - must not kill or swear

Blame placed upon.

Permitted: public baths (but not mixed)

(p 153)
Tertullian: "We are neither Brethren nor Indian fakirs, nor do we live remote
in the woods. We despise none of God's gifts, but we use them with
discretion & understanding. Moreover, in living in this world, we make use
of your forum, your meat market, your baths, shops & workshops, your
mills & weekly markets, & whatever else belongs to your economic
life. We go with you by sea, we are soldiers or farmers, we exchange
goods with you, & whatever we make... serves your purposes. But we
do not join in your festivals to the gods, we do not press wreaths
upon our heads, we do not go to plays, & we buy no incense
from you. True, your temple dues are continually becoming smaller,
we prefer to give to the poor in the streets rather than to the treasures
of the gods. Other dues, however, are ~~continually~~ continuously met by us..."
(Exa, 2, 4) (Quot. 42 Tert).

At end of 2nd c. upper classes require more positive leading in
rest of Xth c. culture - p. 286.

Gnostics had married culture - but sacrificed ethics. Clement of Alex.
refused to accept ethical demands of Xth, but "affirmed the world
and the forms of society as a field for the operation of his neighborly
love. (Clem. Quis dives salvetur 11-14). p.

GLOVER: Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire

Letter to Diognetus "Christians are not distinguishable from the rest of
mankind in land or speech or customs. They inhabit no special cities of
their own.

A. F. FINDLAY - Byways in Early Xth Literature

Apocryphal 2nd c. ^{early 1920s} "writings" - give us a glimpse of popular
religion among Xth whose outlook on life was largely shaped
by their pre-Xth inheritance - p. 7.

"Common" + "non-common" - the line of separation - from the
view of literary & historical analysis is simply the line between high
Xth ("pure") & low or tainted Xth.

"The minds of men [in the second century] who had accepted Christ
lay under the spell of inherited ideas, from which their faith was not
strong enough or robust enough to set them free. The result was... after
a blending of conceptions of diverse origin which could only be held
at the cost of surrendering elements vital to the Xth faith. [This was
not deliberate - but] an unconscious accommodation of Xth truths to the
conceptions already present in the mind.

Indlay

Duchene II

Massinis vs Temple & Campbell p. 60 f.

Dobson & Piquant p 253

Merrillham - p. 155 f.

Fundley lists 3 pictures "due to the intellectual environment of the age: (p. 15).

- ① the craving for the miraculous as a sign of the Divine origin of Xty.
- ② the legalistic conception of the Xn life
- ③ the influence of the prevalent world view in the truth. (Hellenistic)

1. Miraculous - permeate the lit - but they are relevant, and bound up with the ^{Moral - of that cult. Xt. beliefs} teaching. But 2nd c. - become fantastic + grotesque. - leads to
2. Legalism - ^{leads to} double standard. - makes essential to salvation, and makes which require merit.

Hermas - "Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be well-pleasing to God, and shalt be enabled by the number of them that keep his commandments. But if thou do any good thing beyond the commandment of God, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory." (Sim., v. 3). p. 204.

3. Impl. of Hellenistic thought. (p. 21 f.)

In 2nd c. prevailing world view was dualistic. Matter is evil.

This led to 2 important consequences -

- a. Ascetic morality - negative attitude to material world. (Not only reason)

Salvation is union with Divine nature (in Hellen thought) - only possible

by leaving prison-house of material existence, future.

led to other-worldliness

- b. Doctric view of Christ.

Ed Kraemer

As it spread, it emancipated itself from its provincial
Gaulish connections. An increasingly large section, absorbed the
cultural background of the Greeks - Hellenistic vs. Gaulish-oriented

Gerald Simons - Barbarian Europe - N.Y. Time-Life 1968

4th c. - Empire split E. & W. Constantine 330 transfer capital from Rome to Const.
395 Theodosius divides Imp. E. & W.

Two sections - E. smaller, richer, Greek, urban, industrial

W. larger, poorer, Latin, rural, produced raw materials
chh - which might have unified ^{tended to} split along East-West lines in its
bitter arguments over doctrine & organization. p. 14

Celtic cross - its evolution - cross + sun - p. 70.

Celtic art with early Xn markings - (5th c.) - p. 45.

Orthodoxic prin - East + cross (5th c.) p. 54

Barbarian religion - mixed indo-European + Christian

ecclesiastical organization modelled after Empire's provincial system - bishops
in large administrative centres. As Empire crumbled - bishops added
secular administration to their religious tasks

Romanic kings needed the bishops - could barbarians could conquer but not rule

Bishops needed barbarian kings - could rule, but not protect + enforce.

"The bishops broadening their secular activities, served the kings as ministers,
judges, diplomats & top administrators..." p. 58

Simon (cont.)

1092 - Pope Urban II rebukes the Count of Flanders for in Christian acts, writes; inter-plot; the count's defence - "Dost thou claim to have done hitherto only what is in conformity with the ancient custom of the land? Thou shouldst know, notwithstanding, thy Creator hath said: My name is Truth. He hath not said: My name is Custom."

Medieval society - a mixture of Germanic, Roman & Christian cultural elements. In second half of 11th c. - out of these three, fused, came the feudal system.

Medieval - Christ + Culture

Jews - confronts with Jewish culture with a hard challenge - in feudal Jewish civilization by abstracting religion + ethics from the rest of social life - substituting the God of God for the Jewish nation. (Jos. Klausner, Jews & Nazareth) "Jews ignored everything concerned with material civilization in this sense he does not belong to civilization"; - p. 2 f (M)
K - Jews imperial culture. Kishin replied - there is a problem. "Not only Jews but also Greeks & Romans, medievalists & moderns, Westerners & Orientals have rejected it because they saw in him a threat to their culture."
- p. "

Jews, rejected -

Rome, rejected - persecutions.

Main aspects: -

① They teach contempt for this world, stresses the next. Cosmopolitanism is limited by a contempt for present existence & by confidence in immortality.

Mine + him - they are separate. Paradox: - ① Some condemn; for not saving it
② Some - for not changing it.

(2) There is no God's grace depends on human effort + achievement

(3) 'intolerant' - did not accept non-hereditary + culture. Faith in one God, monotheism - intolerant of pagan universals.

Secularized society simply shifts attitude: "The antagonism of modern, tolerant culture to Xt is of course often disguised because it does not call its religious practices religious... Hence the objection it raises to Christian immittation appears ~~to~~ to such imputations only as that religion should be kept out of politics + business, so that Christian faith must learn to get along with other religions." It substitutes its own values for the old gods - p. 9.

The Xt. + culture issue.

Paul's struggle with Judaizers + Hellenizers of gospel.

effort to translate it into Greek language + thought

Early struggle of ch. with imper

- values of Med. world

- rejection of moral principles, Gs + social organization

Constantine's settlement of the issue.

Problem is not Xt. + culture - but relation of 2 contrasting Xt. + culture - for Xt. must come between these two poles of contrast, p. 4.

Xt. - the Xt. of the NT.

Frederick, Ernst, Christian Thought, 1923. esp. pp. 21-35. Xt. + Western culture are so inextricably intertwined that a man can say little about his faith to members of other civilizations, + the latter in turn cannot understand Xt. save as a member of the Western world. Yet Frederick is aware of tension betw. Xt. + West's culture. p. 20

Marx's canon c. 150, set by the Catholic co. 100
complete in 900

Culture, says Niebuhr - equals civilization, - the "artificial, secondary environment" which man superimposes on the natural. - laws, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization ... p. 32.

It + culture - 2 complex relations - "an infinite dialogue must develop in the ~~the~~ conscience and the ~~the~~ community. In his single-minded direction toward God, Christ leads men away from the temporality and pluralism of culture. In its concern for ^{the conservation of the} many values of the past, culture rejects the Christ who bids men rely on grace. - p. 39.

Typical answers in the dialogue:

- (1) Opposition between Christ + culture Judaism, Roman gov't, moralism.
- (2) Fundamental agreement between Christ + culture. Jesus as the greatest human achievement ^{the great achievement the great 'act'} in Western civiliz. as in.

Abelard
skitsell.

p. 27. ~~to~~ harmonize It + culture, anticipate adjustment in the process each to the other - i.e. exactly that part of the culture which seems to the most It-like, + selects for It's teach only those parts which seem to give best with what is best in it.

Quintilian - Seneca's "Culture, Intellectualism"

Itly - as a religious + philosophic system the best one, but one of many

Quintilian - complete participation in the culture - did not take seriously populus, disloyalty, + Caesar worship - not search enough to make an issue of it + refuse to participate. - 87.

Itly. must be reconciled with some of phil. of the day as

It - as the remainder of relig. beliefs, a gov't. but not best of all life and not the ~~best~~ best.

Take part of Bible - and call it the essential part. Same as the Mt.
2, p. 311 - all kinds of apocryphal gospels.

6'

where Christ spoke with the exact ~~same~~ ^{same} as - just was -
Xt of other exact reason was, identical

"It is not possible honestly, to confess that Jesus is the
Christ of culture unless we can confess much more than that.

Jacob Milgrom - in Biblical Archaeologist

Last of 400 mss of Dead Sea Scrolls - summarized.

[Qumran Community - Essene-related, 100 B.C. - 48 A.D.]

Anti-Jewish priesthood, as practiced in Jerusalem. Describes the ideal temple as it should be.
Emphasis on purity: sexual relations, toilets, unclean animals + people forbidden in city.
Govt. to be headed by constitutional monarch - not divorced, or with more than one wife.

- The Century Mar. 14, 1979, p. 272f.

Tillich on culture and religion:

"All human actions are rooted in some belief system, based either in an ultimate or a limited referent", writes James M. Wall, editorial. The Century Mar. 14, '75, p. 267.

∴ To speak of a "religious" president is redundant, since all presidents have some belief system that guides their decision making, adds Wall.

Daves

Dead Sea Scrolls

On the Community - The Manual of Discipline - the rules of the religious community at Qumran, ca. 20 BC - 70 AD.
Rules of membership, beliefs, directions on admission, discipline, the holy life.

After violent quarrel with the priesthood in Jerusalem (The Kelcey).
made a home on shores of Dead Sea.

Interpret the OT as "fulfilled in the events surrounding the founding of the Qumran community."

Essenes - an ascetic monastic community, withdrawn from common life -
supplemented Bible of OT with sacred books of their own.
looked for a Messiah of the Atonement line.

Sadducees - strict adherers to Torah.

Pharisees - upheld importance of oral tradition; therefore included written law.

Essenes - like Sadducees - followed traditions of priests; had own rites of purification, a sacred meal corresponding to the priestly ritual bath + purification of the Show-bread.

- like Pharisees - rigorously observed the law, had apocalyptic hopes, claimed to be true people of God.

- unlike Zealots, did not engage in direct political actions

Paul
ch. 11:17

Daves

labour and be justly regarded as absurd and foolish by all sensible people?

II.27.1 But a sound and safe and reverent mind that loves the truth will study with eagerness the things that God has left within the reach of man. In these he will advance by his daily work, making his study of them easier. Such are the things that are placed under our very eyes, and whatever is said openly and without ambiguity in its very wording in the Scriptures.

II.28.1 Having, then, the very rule of truth, and the testimony openly given about God, we ought not reject the sound and sure knowledge of God; but rather directing our solutions of our problems to this end, we should be disciplined by the investigation of the mystery and dispensation of the God who is, and grow more and more in our love of Him, who has done and does so much for us. But if we cannot find the solution of every scriptural difficulty we should not be driven to seek another God, for that were gross impiety. All such matters we should leave in the hands of God, who has made us, being duly aware that the Scriptures are perfect, having been uttered by the Word of God and His Spirit. It is no wonder if in spiritual and celestial matters we have this experience, seeing that many things which are practically before our eyes are beyond our ken. These very things we commit to God. For example, what explanation can we give of the rising of the Nile; of the habitat of the migratory birds; of the ebb and flow of the tide; of the formation of rain, lightning, thunder, the winds, the clouds, the phases of the moon, the differences of liquids, metals, stones and other things? If, then, there are certain phenomena of nature which are hid from us, there is no ground for complaint if the Scriptures contain many things too deep for us, which must be left to God, so that He should ever be the teacher and man the pupil.

II.30.9 He only is God who made all things. He alone is omnipotent. He only is Father who made and created all things, visible and invisible, objects of sense and objects of understanding, things in heaven and things in earth by the Word of His Power. He adapted and arranged all things by His wisdom. He contains all things and is contained of none. He is Creator, Maker and Fashioner. He is the Moulder and Lord of all. And neither is there anything above or beside Him.... But there is only one God, the Creator. He is above every principality and power and dominion and virtue. He is Father, He is God, He is Founder and Maker and Builder. He made all these things by Himself, that is, by His Word and His Wisdom. He formed men, He planted Paradise. He made the world, He sent the flood, He saved Noah. He is the God of the living, whom the Law proclaims, the prophets preach, and Christ reveals; whom the Apostles announce, and in whom the Church believes. He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, through His Word who is His Son. Through him He is revealed and manifested to all to whom He is made known. For they only know Him to whom the Son reveals Him. But the Son always existing with the Father from of old, yea, from the beginning, ever revealeth the Father to angels, archangels, powers and virtues, and to whomsoever he pleaseth.

SECULAR

Zosimus - mid 5th c.
(home to 410)

WEST

Rufinus (to. Eusebius) d. 410
~~Prudentius~~ 367-431
~~Prudentius - (b. 363 - 425)~~
Iulianus (b. 388 - 470) ^{Aclystus (354-430)}

Chronicle - continues from Jerome from
379 to (468) "end of world" ^{beginning of world}
Orosius - fl. 409-417. History of world to present time.
Prosper of Aquitaine - (b. ca 403 - ca. 463)

Chronicle - extends Eusebius of Jerome
from earliest age to capture of Rome by
Vandals, in (455) (3 parts (pt 326,
② 326-378 ③ & 455).

Severus of Antioch, opposes Pelagians
Victor of Tunnus - to 566, history of Vandals
John of Biclaro - suppl. Iulianus ^{+ victor} to 567-590
Marinus of Arles (Lansanne) ext. Prosper to 581

EAST

Sozomen (ca. 375 -
Sozomen (ca. 385 -
~~Sozomen (ca. 400 -~~
Theodoret (ca. 393 453)

Marcellinus - ext. Prudentius 319-534

BARBARIAN INVASIONS (5th & 6th c.) Thompson

Barbarian Invasions

① Visigoths in Spain

Chronicle of John, abbot of Biclara, a Spanish monk, supplemented Chronicon of Isidore for the years 567-590. One of best sources for Visigoths.

~~Isidore~~ Isidore of Seville (d. 636) - Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum - unsatisfactory, panegyric on Spain.

Best source: Antiqua, earliest code of Visigothic law
Breviarum of Alaric II, more ample code, preceding above.

② Africa, Vandals

Victor Vitensis' History of the Persecution of the Province of Africa by Genseric and Huneric, Kings of the Vandals, deals with 429-484.

"wild unscientific, careless chronology of extreme credulity... (but) no other contemporary account." (Thompson p. 145.)

Procopius, History of the Vandal War, in 533, on Justinian's destruction of Vandal power.

③ Ostrogoths in Italy (we are better informed)

An anonymous Ravenna chronicle, Anonymus Valensii, in 2 fragments (not of same work) (293-337; 474-526). First on Constantinian, not much used; but second, from Nepos to death of Theodoric is important.

Carolingian

Gregory of Tours & Roman History - His valuable Gallic History, in 12 books but - "one of most genuine (ones) in early medieval historiography. Preserved only in the crude Gallic Hist. of Gratianus, which is a condensation of it.

Gratianus - half Latin, half German. First writer to attempt a hist. of the German invasions. Based on oral sayings & traditions - preserved the German viewpoint (p. 147)

Pagan history disappeared in 5th c. From 5th c. to 13th - history of west almost exclusively by the writers, mostly clerics.

Secular

East

West

Tactian - first to prefix Heb. hist.
 → Greco-Rom. concept of 'succession'
 of Empires (Theme to Sextus Jul. Afr.
 Euseb. Aug.)

Hepseippus, Hypomneta (lost)

Sextus Julius Africanus, Chronographia
 (to 221 AD)

Hippolytus
 Lactantius (Latin, but in Nicomedia), De Mortibus
persecutorum

EUSEBIUS (260-340)

Marcellinus (adds to Lt. Evs. 379-534 A.D.)

SOCRATES

SOZOMEN

THEODORET

EVAagrius

Letters of Church Fathers

- Cyprian Nazarenus 244
- St. Basil 243
- St. Cyprian 81
- St. Ambrose 91
- Augustine 270
- Chrysostom - many
- Jerome many

Hippolytus

Jerome (to Evs, with Rufinus),
 adding 324-378 A.D. (b. 340)

Rufinus (to Evs.) (d. 410)

Idatius (adds 379-468)
 (c. 427-470) - 2nd Pictorial
Proper of Agapitine (adds to 455)

Marius & Aventin (to 551)

Victor & Tinnis (to 566) 3 sp.

John, Abbot of Britons (567-590)
 on Vandals

Cassiodorus (to 519)

Isidore of Seville (to 621)
1000 of Sp. Ch. 600-650

Bele (to 726) (612-735)

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS

AUGUSTINE

Orosius (to 417)

Gregory & Tours (573-594)

(H. mid 5th c.)
ZOSIMUS (last pagan historian)
 anti-Xn. Hist. of
 Rome to 410 A.D. Phronimo
 fell on Xty.

b. ca. 500-514
PROCOPIUS (?) Xn or heathen. Alleged
 on by doctrinal intrusion.
 Hist. of Persian war (540-549)
 Hist. of Vandal war (535-545)
 Hist. of Gothic Wars (487-574)

1. 11

2.

HISTORY + METHODOLOGY OF CHURCH HISTORY: Bibliography

1. Method of Historical Study

Bernheim, E., Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studiren der Geschichte Leipzig, Duncker + Humblot, 1889, 5th ed. ["the classic work on historical methodology"]

Canglois, C.V. + Seignobos, C., Introduction to the Study of History tr. P. H., N.Y., Holt, 1898 - follows Bernheim, but more popular, "less concern for 'philosophy' of history")

Vincent, J.M., Historical Research: An Outline of Theory and Practice N.Y. Holt, 1911 (systematic)

2. Study of Church History

Collins, W.E., The Study of Ecclesiastical History, Lond. Longmans, 1903 (follows Bernheim, Canglois)

Schaff, P., What is Church History? Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development.

Phila. Lippincott, 1846 (Hegelian philos. of history)

Guilday, P. (ed), Church Historians. N.Y., P.G. Kenedy 1926 (essays (RC) on Eusebius, Origen etc)

Thompson, J.W., A History of Historical Writing, N.Y. Macmillan, 1942 (ch. VII, XVIII, etc)

3 Pre-Reformation Historians of Christianity
a. Eastern

J.W. Thompson, "Early Church Historiography," in History of Historical Writing, ch. VIII, (N.Y. 1942)

"Pagan historiography disappeared in the 5th century. After this century opened, most historical writing in the West for 500 years thereafter was written by Christian writers, almost everyone of whom was a cleric..." - p. 122

① Tatian (2d c. A.D.) in his Address to the Greeks "was the first who prefixed ancient Hebrew history to the Graeco-Roman concept of 'succession of empires'. This double tradition and fusion of ideas was what gave form to Sextus Julius Africanus, from whom the concept passed to Eusebius, and so on to Jerome, Augustine, Isidore etc." p. 124

But from beginning church hist. was distorted - ① by adoption of Jewish history as pre-hist. history, ② by association of revelation and history, ③ by 'vicious distinction' between 'sacred' and 'secular' history.

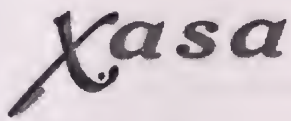
HISTORY of CHRISTIANITY

History of Xty as response to cultural crises - with each period writing its history of the chch as a personal Xn response to the crisis in terms of its leaders:

Munk + martyr

1. Early period. ^{Munk + martyr} Crisis - how to preserve the peace of the chch + its survival.
Response: - in persecution, the martyr
- in success, the monk.
2. Decline of the Roman Empire: Theodricists (Boethius) - Prelates (Gregory I.) Decline ended piety.
3. The ideal of the eccumenical empire of the Middle Ages: Mystics (John Scotus Erigena to Arto) + Theologians (Anselm thru Calvin). Search for identity with God (mystics), - knowledge of God (theologians)
4. Enlightenment + Romantic ideal of virtuosity. The virtuosos - of moralism (Jeremy Taylor) + of sentimentalism (Wesley)
5. The Modern Conscience called forth apologists (John Henry Newman) - activists (Wm. Temple).

- Wm. Clebsch. Toward a History of Christianity. Ch. History, vol. 43, 161
(March '74) pp. 5-16



[History of Christian missions](#)
[Wikipedia](#)

Timeline of the spread of the Christian Gospel

[EVANGELICAL MISSIONS]

- **c. 29** - Pentecost and birth of the Christian church\n***c. 34** - Saint Stephen stoned, church scattered by persecution; Philip, a deacon baptizes a convert, an Ethiopian pilgrim in Gaza.\n***c. 39** - Peter preaches to the Gentiles\n***c. 48** - Paul (formerly known as Saul of Tarsus) begins his first missionary journey to modern-day Turkey.\n***c. 51** - Paul begins his second missionary journey, a trip that will take him through Turkey and on into modern-day Greece.\n***c. 52** - Apostle Thomas arrives in India and founds church that subsequently becomes Indian Orthodox Church (and its various descendants).\n***c. 54** - Paul begins his third journey.\n***c. 60** - Paul journeys to Rome.\n***c. 180** - Pantaenus preaches in India\n***c. 300** - Ulfilas goes to the Goths in present-day Romania\n* **328** - Frumentius takes gospel to Ethiopia\n* **386** - Augustine of Hippo converted\n* **410** - New Testament appears in Armenian language\n* **432** - Patrick goes to Ireland as missionary\n* **496** - Conversion of Clovis I, king of Franks in Gaul, along with 3,000 warriors\n***c. 528** - Benedict destroys pagan temple at Monte Cassino (Italy) and builds monastery\n***c. 563** - Columba sails from Ireland to Scotland.\n* **596** - Gregory the Great sends Augustine to (what is now) England\n* **631** - Conversion of the East Angles\n***635** - First Christian missionaries (Nestorian monks from Asia Minor and Persia) arrive in China; Aidan launches crusade into heart of Northumbria (England)\n* **637** - Lombards become Christian\n* **692** - Willibrord and 11 companions cross the North Sea to become missionaries to the Frisians (in modern Holland)\n* **697** - Muslims overrun Carthage, capital of North Africa\n* **722** - Boniface goes to Germanic tribes\n* **823** - Ansgar goes to Sweden\n* **830** - Scotch-born Erluph, Bishop of Werden is evangelizing in (what is now) Germany when he is killed by the Vandals.\n* **869** - Cyril and Methodius go to the Slavs\n* **864** - Conversion of Prince Boris of Bulgaria\n* **1000** - Leif the Lucky evangelizes Greenland\n* **1219** - Francis of Assisi presents the Gospel to the Sultan of Egypt\n* **1266** - The Khan sends Marco Polo's father and uncle, Niccolo and Maffeo Polo, back to Europe with a request to the Pope to send 100 missionaries (only two responded and they turned back before reaching Mongolia)\n* **1276** - Ramon Llull opens training center to send missionaries to North Africa\n***1289** - Franciscan friars begin mission work in China\n* **1294** - Franciscan John of Monte Corvino goes to China\n* **1329** - Nicea falls to Muslim Ottoman Turks\n***1368** - Collapse of the Franciscan mission in China as Ming Dynasty abolishes Christianity\n* **1382** - Bible translated into English from Latin\n* **1453** - Constantinople falls to the Muslim Ottoman Turks who make it their capital\n* **1500** - Franciscans enter Brazil with Cabral\n* **1510** - Dominicans begin work in Haiti\n* **1526** - Franciscans enter Florida\n* **1537** - Pope Paul III orders that the Indians of the New World be brought to Christ "by the preaching of the divine word, and with the example of the good life."n* **1542** - Francis Xavier, having two years previously launched the missionary work of the Society of Jesus, goes to Portuguese colony of Goa in South India; Franciscans reach what is now New Mexico\n* **1555** - John Calvin sends Huguenots to Brazil\n* **1564** - Legaspi begins Augustinian work in Philippine Islands\n* **1577** - Dominicans enter Mozambique and



penetrate inland, burning Muslim mosques as they go\n*1582 - Jesuits begin mission work in China, introduce Western science, mathematics, astronomy\n* 1597 - Twenty-six Japanese Christians are crucified for their faith by General Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Nagasaki, Japan. By 1640, thousands of Japanese Christians had been martyred. \n* 1601 - Matteo Ricci goes to China\n* 1605 - Roberto de Nobili goes to India\n* 1612 - Jesuits found a mission for the Abenakis in Maine\n* 1614 - Anti-Christian edicts issued in Japan\n* 1622 - Pope Gregory VI founds the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith\n* 1628 - College of Propaganda established in Rome to train "native clergy" from all over the world\n* 1644 - John Eliot begins ministry to Algonquin Indians in North America\n* 1649 - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel In New England formed to reach the Indians of New England\n* 1651 - Count Truchsess, prominent Lutheran layman, asked the theological faculty of Wittenberg as to why Lutherans were not sending out missionaries in obedience to the Great Commission\n* 1658 - Paris Foreign Missions Society established by Jesuit Alexander de Rhodes\n* 1661 - George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers) sends 3 missionaries to China (although they never reached the field)\n* 1664 - Justinian Von Welz goes to Dutch Guinea (now called Surinam)\n* 1670 - Jesuits establish missions on the Orinoco River in Venezuela\n* 1698 - Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge organized by Anglicans\n* 1701 - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts\n* 1705 - Danish-Halle mission to India begins with Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau\n* 1719 - Isaac Watts writes missionary hymn "Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun"\n* 1722 - Hans Egede goes to Greenland\n* 1723 - Robert Millar publishes *A History of the Propagation of Christianity and the Overthrow of Paganism*\n* 1732 - Moravians launch missionary outreach in Caribbean\n* 1733 - Moravians go to Greenland\n* 1735 - John Wesley goes to Indians in Georgia as missionary with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel\n* 1736 - Anti-Christian edicts in China\n* 1743 - David Brainerd starts ministry to North American Indians\n* 1746 - From Boston, a call is issued to the Christians of the New World to enter into a seven-year "Concert of Prayer" for missionary work\n* 1747 - Jonathan Edwards appeals for prayer for world missions\n* 1750 - Jonathan Edwards, preacher of the First Great Awakening, having been banished from his church at Northampton, Massachusetts goes as a missionary to the nearby Housatonic Indians.\n* 1750 - Christian Frederic Schwartz goes to India with Danish-Halle Mission\n* 1776 - The first baptism of an Eskimo by a Lutheran pastor takes place in Labrador. \n* 1782 - Freed slave George Lisle goes to Jamaica as missionary\n* 1786 - John Marrant, a free black from New York City, preaches to "a great number of Indians and white people" at Green's Harbor, Newfoundland. Marrant's cross-cultural ministry led him to take the Christian gospel to the Cherokee, Creek, Catawar, and Housaw Indians. \n*1792 - William Carey writes *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathen* and forms the Baptist Missionary Society to support him in establishing missionary work in India.\n*1795 - The London Missionary Society is formed.\n* 1797 - London Missionary Society enters Tahiti\n*1799 - The Church Missionary Society (Church of England) is formed; John Vanderkemp, Dutch physician goes to Cape Colony, Africa; Religious Tract Society organized\n* 1804 - British and Foreign Bible Society formed; Church Missionary Society enters Sierra Leone\n* 1806 - Haystack prayer meeting at Williams College; Henry Martyn lands in Calcutta\n* 1807 - First Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison, begins work in Canton\n* 1809 - National Bible Society of Scotland organized\n*1810 - The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is formed.\n* 1811 - English Wesleyans enter Sierra Leone\n* 1812 - First American foreign missionary, , arrives in Serampore and soon goes to Burma\n*1813 - The Methodists form the Wesleyan Missionary Society.\n*1814 - First recorded baptism of a Chinese convert, Cai Gao; American Baptist Foreign Mission Society formed; Netherlands Bible Society founded\n* 1815 - American Board of Commissioners open work on Ceylon;

Basel Missionary Society organized\n* 1816 - Robert Moffat arrives in Africa; American Bible Society founded\n* 1817 - James Thompson begins distributing Bibles throughout Latin America\n* 1819 - John Scudder, the missionary physician, joins the Ceylon Mission; Wesleyan Methodists start work in Madras, India; Reginald Heber writes words to missionary classic "From Greenland's Icy Mountains"\n* 1820 - Hiram Bingham goes to Hawaii (Sandwich Islands)\n* 1821 - African-American Lott Carey, a Baptist missionary, sails with 28 colleagues from Norfolk, VA to Sierra Leone. \n* 1822 - Paris Evangelical Missionary Society established\n* 1823 - Scottish Missionary Society workers arrive in Bombay, India\n* 1825 - George Boardman goes to Burma\n* 1826 - American Bible Society sends first shipment of Bibles to Mexico\n* 1828 - Basel Mission begins work at Christiansborg, Accra (Africa); Karl F. A. Gutzlaff of the Netherlands Missionary Society lands in Bangkok, Thailand; Rhenish Missionary Association formed\n* 1830 - Alexander Duff arrives in Calcutta; Baptism of Taufahau Tupou, King of Tonga, by a western missionary\n* 1831 - American Congregational missionaries arrive in Thailand, withdrawing in 1849 without a single convert\n* 1833 - Baptist work in Thailand begins with John Taylor Jones; American Methodist missionary Melville Box arrives in Liberia\n* 1834 - American Presbyterian Mission opens work in India in the Punjab\n* 1835 - Rhenish Missionary Society begins work among the Dayaks on Borneo (Indonesia)\n* 1836 - Plymouth Brethren begin work in Madras, India\n* 1839 - Entire Bible in Tahiti published\n* 1840 - David Livingstone is in present-day Malawi (Africa) with the London Missionary Society; American Presbyterians enter Thailand and labor for 18 years before seeing their first Thai convert\n* 1844 - Swiss Johann Krapf begins work on Zanzibar\n* 1852 - Zenana (women) and Medical Missionary Fellowship formed in England to send out single women missionaries\n* 1854 - London Missionary Conference; New York Missionary Conference\n* 1856 - Presbyterians start work in Colombia with the arrival of Henry Pratt\n* 1857 - Bible translated into Tswana language\n* 1858 - John G. Paton begins work in New Hebrides; Elizabeth Freeman martyred in India; Basel Evangelical Missionary Society begins work in western Sumatra (Indonesia) \n* 1859 - Protestant missionaries arrive in Japan\n* 1860 - United Lutheran Church begins work in Liberia; Liverpool Missionary Conference; Cyrus Hamlin establishes Robert College in Constantinople\n* 1861 - Sarah Doremus founds the Women's Union Missionary Society; Episcopal Church opens work in Haiti; Rhenish Mission goes to Indonesia under Ludwig Nommensen\n* 1862 - Paris Evangelical Missionary Society opens work in Senegal\n* 1864 - Baptists enter Argentina\n* 1865 - The China Inland Mission is founded by James Hudson Taylor.\n* 1867 - Methodists start work in Argentina; Scripture Union established\n* 1868 - Robert Bruce goes to Iran\n* 1870 - Clara Swain, the very first female missionary medical doctor, arrives at Bareilly, India.\n* 1871 - Henry Stanley finds David Livingstone in central Africa\n* 1872 - First All-India Missionary Conference with 136 participants\n* 1873 - Regions Beyond Missionary Union founded in London in connection with the East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions\n* 1876 - Mary Slessor goes to the Calabar region of Nigeria \n* 1877 - James Chalmers goes to New Guinea\n* 1881 - Methodist work in Lahore, Pakistan starts in the wake of revivals under Bishop William Taylor; North Africa Mission (now Arab World Ministries) founded on work of Edward Glenny in Algeria\n* 1882 - A.B. Simpson founds missionary training school in Nyack, New York\n* 1883 - Salvation Army enters West Pakistan\n* 1885 - Horace Underwood, Presbyterian missionary, and Henry Appenzellar, Methodist missionary, arrive in Korea; Scottish Ion Keith-Falconer goes to Aden on the Arabian peninsula; "Cambridge Seven" (C. T. Studd, M. Beauchamp, W. W. Cassels, D. E. Hoste, S. P. Smith, A. T. Podhill-Turner, C. H. Polhill-Turner) go to China as missionaries.\n* 1886 - Student Volunteer Movement launched as 100 university and seminar students at Moody's conference grounds at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, sign the Princeton Pledge: "I purpose, God willing, to become a foreign missionary." \n* 1887 - A.B. Simpson

founds the Christian & Missionary Alliance\n* 1888 - Jonathan Goforth sails to China; Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions officially organized with John R. Mott as chairman and Robert Wilder as traveling secretary. The movement's motto, coined by Wilder, was: "The evangelization of the world in this generation"; Scripture Gift Mission founded\n* 1889 - Samuel Moffett sails from US for Korea, establishes Presbyterian Mission there.\n* 1890 - Central American Mission founded by C. I. Scofield, editor of the Scofield Reference Bible; The Scandinavian Alliance (now The Evangelical Alliance Mission) founded; Methodist Charles Gabriel writes missionary song "Send the Light"\n* 1891 - Samuel Zwemer goes to Arabia\n* 1892 - Redcliffe Missionary Training College founded in Chiswick (London)\n* 1893 - Eleanor Chestnut goes to India as Presbyterian medical missionary; Sudan Interior Mission founded\n* 1895 - Africa Inland Mission formed by Peter Cameron Scott\n* 1897 - Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. begins work in Venezuela\n* 1899 - James Rodgers arrives in Philippines with the Presbyterian Mission; Central American Mission enters Guatemala\n* 1900 - American Friends open work in Cuba; Ecumenical Missionary Conference in Carnegie Hall, New York (162 mission boards represented); 189 missionaries and their children killed in Boxer rebellion in China\n* 1901 - John Diaz goes to Cape Verde Islands; Maude Cary sails for Morocco; Disciples of Christ open work in northern Luzon (Philippines); Oriental Missionary Society founded by Charles Cowman (his wife is the compiler of popular devotional book *Streams in the Desert*)\n* 1902 - Swiss members of Christian Missions in Many Lands enter Laos; California Yearly Meeting of Friends opens work in Guatemala\n* 1903 - Church of the Nazarene enters Mexico\n* 1904 - The Azusa Street Revivals\n* 1906 - The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) opens work in Venezuela with T. J. Bach and John Christiansen\n* 1907 - Harmon Schmelzenbach sails for Africa; Presbyterians and Methodists open Union Theological Seminary in Manila, Philippines; Bolivian Indian Mission founded by George Allen\n* 1908 - Gospel Missionary Union opens work in Colombia with Charles Chapman and John Funk\n* 1910 - C.T. Studd establishes Heart of Africa Mission (now called Worldwide Evangelization Crusade); Edinburgh (Scotland) Missionary Conference\n* 1911 - Christian & Missionary Alliance enters Vietnam\n* 1912 - Conference of British Missionary Societies formed\n* 1917 - Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) founded\n* 1920 - Church of the Nazarene enters Syria\n* 1921 - Founding of International Missionary Council (IMC); Norwegian Mission Council formed\n* 1924 - Bible Churchman's Missionary Society opens work in Upper Burma; Baptist Mid-Missions begins work in Venezuela\n* 1927 - Near East Christian Council established\n* 1928 - Cuba Bible Institute (West Indies Mission) opens; Jerusalem Conference of IMC\n* 1929 - Christian & Missionary Alliance enters East Borneo (Indonesia)\n* 1930 - Christian & Missionary Alliance starts work among Baouli tribe in the C?d'Ivoire\n* 1931 - HCJB radio station started in Quito, Ecuador by Clarence Jones; Baptist Mid-Missions enters Liberia\n* 1932 - Assemblies of God open work in Colombia; Laymen's Missionary Inquiry\n* 1933 - Gladys Aylward (subject of movie "The Inn of the Sixth Happiness") arrives in China\n* 1934 - William Cameron Townsend begins the Summer Institute of Linguistics\n* 1935 - Dr. Frank C. Laubach, American missionary to the Philippines perfects the "Each one teach one" literacy program, which was used worldwide to teach 60 million people to read in their own language.\n* 1938 - West Indies Mission enters Dominican Republic; Church Missionary Society forced out of Egypt; Madras World Missionary Conference held; Dr. Orpha Speicher oversees construction of Reynolds Memorial Hospital in central India\n* 1940 - Marianna Slocum begins translation work in Mexico\n* 1941 - Joy Ridderhof founds Gospel Recordings\n* 1942 - William Cameron Townsend founds Wycliffe Bible Translators; New Tribes mission founded\n* 1943 - World Gospel Mission (National Holiness Missionary Society) enters Honduras; 5 missionaries with New Tribes Mission martyred\n* 1945 - Mission Aviation Fellowship formed; Far East



Broadcasting Company (FEBC) founded; Evangelical Foreign Missions Association formed by denominational mission boards\n* 1946 - First Inter-Varsity missionary convention (now called "Urbana"); United Bible Societies formed; Missionary Aviation Fellowship purchases its first aircraft, a 1933 four-place Waco biplane\n* 1947 - Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society begins work among the Senufo tribe in the C?d'Ivoire \n* 1948 - Alfredo del Rosso merges his Italian Holiness Mission with the Church of the Nazarene, thus opening Nazarene work on the European continent; Don Owens goes to Korea\n* 1949 - Southern Baptist Mission opens work in Venezuela\n* 1950 - Paul Orjala arrives in Haiti; radio station 4VEH, owned by Oriental Missionary Society, starts broadcasting from near Cap Haitien, Haiti\n* 1951 - World Evangelical Fellowship organized; Bill and Vonette Bright create Campus Crusade for Christ at UCLA\n* 1952 - Church of the Nazarene enters New Zealand\n* 1954 - Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities opens work in Cuba\n* 1955 - Donald McGavran publishes *Bridges of God*; Dutch missionary "Brother Andrew" makes first of many Bible smuggling trips into Communist Eastern Europe\n* 1956 - Edward McCully, Peter Fleming, Jim Elliot, Roger Youderian and Nate Saint die in Ecuador at the hands of Auca Indians on the Curaray River; Assemblies of God open work in Senegal\n* 1958 - Rochunga Pudaite completes translation of Bible into Hmar language (India)\n* 1959 - Radio Lumiere founded in Haiti by West Indies Mission (now World Team)\n*c. 1960 - Kenneth Strachan starts Evangelism-in-Depth in Central America\n* 1962 - Don Richardson goes to Sawi tribe in Papua New Guinea\n* 1963 - Theological Education by Extension movement launched in Guatemala by Ralph Winter and James Emery\n* 1964 - In separate incidents rebels in the Congo kill missionaries Paul Carlson and Irene Ferrel as well as brutalizing missionary doctor Helen Roseveare; Carlson is featured on December 4 TIME magazine cover.\n* 1966 - Red Guards destroy churches in China; Berlin Congress on Evangelism; Missionaries expelled from Burma; *God's Smuggler* published\n* 1970 - Frankfurt Declaration on Mission\n* 1971 - Gustavo Gutierrez publishes *A Theology of Liberation*\n* 1973 - Church of the Nazarene enters Indonesia and Portugal; first All-Asa Mission Consultation convenes in Seoul, Korea with 25 delegates from 14 countries; founding of American Society of Missiology\n* 1974 - Ralph Winter talks about "hidden" or unreached peoples at Lausanne Congress of World Evangelism\n* 1975 - Nazarene missionaries Armand Doll and Hugh Friberg imprisoned in Mozambique\n* 1976 - U.S. Center for World Mission founded; 1600 Chinese assemble in Hong Kong for the Chinese Congress on World Evangelization; Islamic World Congress calls for withdrawal of missionaries; *Peace Child* appears in *Reader's Digest*.\n* 1977 - Evangelical Fellowship of India sponsors the All-India Congress on Mission and Evangelization\n* 1979 - Production of JESUS film commissioned by Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ; Mother Teresa awarded Nobel Peace Prize\n* 1980 - Philippine Congress on Discipling a Whole Nation; LCWE Conference in Pattaya\n* 1981 - Colombian terrorists kidnap and kill Wycliffe Bible Translator Chet Bitterman\n* 1982 - Third World Theologians Consultation in Seoul; story on "The New Missionary" makes December 27 cover of TIME magazine; Andes Evangelical Mission (formerly Bolivian Indian Mission) merges into SIM (formerly Sudan Interior Mission)\n* 1984 - STEM (Short Term Evangelical Mission teams) ministries founded by Roger Petersen\n* 1986 - Entire Bible published in Haitian Creole\n* 1987 - Second International Conference on Missionary Kids (MKs) held in Quito, Ecuador\n* 1988 - Wycliffe Bible Translators complete their 300 New Testament translation (Cotabato Manobo language of the Philippines)\n* 1989 - (AIM) founded by Seth Barnes\n* 1994 - Church of the Nazarene enters Bulgaria\n* 1995 - Nazarene missionary Don Cox abducted in Quito, Ecuador\n* 1999 - Radical Hindus murder veteran Australian missionary Graham Stewart Stains and his two sons as they are sleeping in a car in eastern India.



See also: [Mission](#), [Missionary](#), [Christianity](#)

All text is available under the terms of the [GNU Free Documentation License](#). Wikipedia is powered by [MediaWiki](#), an open source wiki engine.

History of Christian missions

The Venerable Bede - Prof. Dorothy Whitelock
St. Botolph's, Cambridge. Oct. 24, 1976

At age 97 placed in monastery. d. 735.

Only 45 yrs. after King's death to Northumbria - he was born.

Now regarded as great historian. Put in his time as "that most skillful
interpreter of the Scriptures" (St. Boniface).

"I have made it my business to make brief extracts from the
holy Fathers on the Scriptures," says Bede. Complete Bibles very rare
then - but his monastery had 3. One - the Amertonia - 2000 pages weigh-
ing over 5 stone, had to be put on a small trolley.
Bede was not striving to be original - kept references in the margin - he was merely
trying to spread orthodox information. But differs with fathers - e.g.
Cairn's offer rejected not bec. it was wrong in nature (esp. math), but flawed
in wrong spirit.

In early modern times - his fashion of interpretation went out of
fashion. 2 meanings: ① literal ② allegorical, inner meaning.

Feeding 5000: - ① real miracle ② 5 loaves = 5 books of Moses, etc.

Moses feeding 4000 7 loaves = 7 gifts of Holy Spirit, but stresses X's
compassion on multitude "those that came from afar"

The Beatitudes

- ① Humility - has opportunity seen in learning - only Christ comes
only for the sake of good.
- ② Humanity. God does not judge by success - but goodness.
- ③ All study of the Bible must be accompanied by right living.

To Samuel A. Moffett,

Encyclopedia of

with

HISTORIANS

best
regends.

AND

Edna
Holland

HISTORICAL WRITING

Volume I

A-L

Editor

KELLY BOYD



FITZROY DEARBORN PUBLISHERS

LONDON CHICAGO

1999

Herodotus c.484–after 424 BCE

Greek historian

Herodotus, the first great prose writer of classical Greece, was hailed as the “Father of History” by Cicero. He lived in Athens in the 440s and 430s, but after the Peace of Callias in 449 ended hostilities between Greece and Persia, he traveled to Egypt, Babylonia, and later Scythia (the present-day Ukraine). At the end of his life, he participated in the colonization of Thurii in southern Italy, where he died.

Herodotus published his famous *Histories* around 445. He wished to describe the great event of the 5th century, Greece’s amazing defeat of the vast army and navy of the Persian king, Xerxes. For his readers to appreciate fully the enormity of that achievement, he described Persia’s prior expansion over Babylonia, Lydia, Scythia, and Egypt.

Herodotus was an indefatigable investigator, but he was dependent at times upon dubious sources, especially in his travels abroad. He did try to check his sources, and often acknowledged that information was lacking. He loved to tell a good story, even when he did not believe it to be true, such as the circumnavigation of Africa. He recorded with wonder, but with respect, customs of foreigners that seemed bizarre to Greeks. In fact, Herodotus’ generous treatment of the Persians

later earned the scorn of Plutarch, who in his *On the Malignity of Herodotus* accused Herodotus of being a *philobarbaros*, or lover of barbarians.

Debate as to whether Herodotus should be viewed as the "Father of History" or the "Father of Lies" has persisted to the present day. The latter reputation prevailed from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. In the 16th century Henri Estienne came to Herodotus' defence. But Herodotus was severely attacked in the 18th century by J.-B. Bournaud and in the 19th century by A.H. Sayce. His severest critics today are Detlev Fehling and O. Kimball Armayor. Fehling has accused Herodotus of making up his sources, and Armayor has claimed that his description of the Labyrinth and Lake Moeris was not based on his observations in Egypt, but was patterned after literary models from Homer.

No one, however, can doubt that Herodotus did visit Egypt. His account of early Egyptian history is a grab-bag of folklore, although he correctly identified the first pharaoh as Min (Menes), and the builders of the three great pyramids at Giza as Cheops (Khufu), Chephren (Khafre), and Mycerinus (Menkaure). His account of the Saite era (XXVIth Dynasty), that is of the 7th–6th centuries, is quite accurate.

In 1883 Sayce questioned whether Herodotus had ever gone to Babylon. But the excavations of Robert Koldewey from 1899 to 1913 vindicated Herodotus, although he had exaggerated certain dimensions of the city. However, Herodotus shared very little useful information about Babylonian history and his promise of a separate Assyrian account was never written.

Herodotus did provide us with invaluable information about the Scythians, Medes, and Persians. His account of such savage Scythian customs as scalping and inhaling hemp fumes has been dramatically confirmed by the frozen burials of Pazyryk. Herodotus accurately described the overthrow of the Medes in 550 by the first great Persian king Cyrus, an account confirmed by a Babylonian chronicle. He preserved accurately a great number of Median and Persian names. Most impressively he rendered correctly six of the seven names of Darius' co-conspirators as recorded in the Behistun inscription. There are, however, some scholars (for example, Jack Balcer), who think that Darius made up the story of the murder of the usurper Gaumata (Smerdis), and that Herodotus was gullible in accepting the royal propaganda. But despite some difficulties, others (e.g., Richard Frye) believe that the official version remains more credible than revisionist theories. Herodotus remains our chief source for the Persian invasions of Greece in 490 and in 480–479. Despite his exaggeration of the Persian numbers, archaeology and topographical surveys have confirmed the credibility of his accounts.

Though Herodotus has been attacked by critics ancient and modern for his flaws, few writers in antiquity observed as widely and as dispassionately as he did, or wrote in such an arresting manner. Alan Lloyd concluded: "It is extremely doubtful whether any historian before modern times could have significantly improved on Herodotus' performance when faced with similar material and well-nigh certain that none would have made of it so consummate a literary masterpiece."

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI

Plutarch; Popular; Procopius; Religion; Rhetoric; Schama; Thucydides; Universal; World; Xenophon

Biography

Born Halicarnassus, in Caria (now Bodrum, Turkey), traditionally c.484 B.C.E., of distinguished family. Moved to Samos during civil strife, c.460; traveled extensively, 455–447; helped found Athenian colony of Thurii in south Italy, 444/3. Died Thurii, after 424.

Principal Writings

Works (Loeb edition), translated by A.D. Godley, 4 vols., 1912–24
The Histories, translated by Aubrey de Selincourt, 2nd edition 1972
The History, translated by David Grene, 1987

Further Reading

- Armayor, O. Kimball, *Herodotus' Autopsy of the Fayoum: Lake Moeris and the Labyrinth of Egypt*, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985
Balcer, Jack M., *Herodotus and Bisitun: Problems in Ancient Persian Historiography*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987
Burkert, Walter et al., *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs (Herodotus and non-Greek Peoples)*, Geneva: Hart, 1990
Dewald, Carolyn, and John Marincola, "A Selective Introduction to Herodotean Studies," *Arethusa* 20 (1987), 9–40
Drews, Robert, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973
Evans, James Allan Stewart, *Herodotus, Explorer of the Past: Three Essays*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991
Fehling, Detlev, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot: Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971; in English as *Herodotus and His "Sources": Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*, Leeds: Cairns, 1989
Fornara, Charles W., *Herodotus: An Interpretative Essay*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971
Frye, Richard N., *The History of Ancient Iran*, Munich: Beck, 1984
Hart, John, *Herodotus and Greek History*, New York: St. Martin's Press, and London: Croom Helm, 1982
Hignett, Charles, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963
Hunter, Virginia, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982
Immerwahr, Henry R., *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966
Latimer, Donald, *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989
Lloyd, Alan B., *Herodotus, Book II: Introduction*, Leiden: Brill, 1975
Lloyd, Alan B., "Herodotus' Account of Pharaonic History," *Historia* 37 (1988), 22–53
MacGinnis, John, "Herodotus' Description of Babylon," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 33 (1986), 67–86
Myres, John Linton, *Herodotus: Father of History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953
Pohlenz, Max, *Herodot: Der erste Geschichtsschreiber des Abendlandes (Herodotus: The First Historian of the West)*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1937, 1961
Pritchett, W. Kendrick, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vol. 2: *Battlefields*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969
Pritchett, W. Kendrick, *The Liar School of Herodotus*, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1991
Yamauchi, Edwin M., *Loes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1982
Yamauchi, Edwin M., *Persia and the Bible*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1990

See also Africa: North; Archaeology; Bernal; Byzantium; Christianity; Greece: Ancient; Memory; Military; Momigliano; Near East;

Josephus 37/38–c.94 CE

Jewish historian

Josephus is the most valuable historical source for the events that took place in Judea in the 1st century. His father was Matthias, one of the best known priests in Jerusalem. His mother was descended from the royal Hasmonean family. Josephus investigated the ways of the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes and after spending three years with an ascetic hermit, became a Pharisee at the age of 18. At the age of 26 in 64 CE, Josephus traveled to Italy to obtain the release of Jewish priests who were his friends. After surviving a shipwreck, he reached Rome where he obtained an audience with Nero's empress, Poppaea. In 66, soon after his return to Palestine, the Jews rebelled against Rome. In spite of the fact that Josephus was a priest without any military background, he was made the commander of Galilee. In 67 Josephus was besieged by Vespasian at Jotapata. Instead of committing suicide as many others did, Josephus surrendered to the Romans – an action that his enemies attributed to cowardice but which Josephus ascribed to Providence. Josephus blamed the outbreak of the war on the "zealots," whom he labeled "brigands." He tried in vain to persuade the Jews in the besieged city of Jerusalem to surrender. He depicted Titus as a courageous general and compassionate conqueror, and tried to absolve him of the responsibility for the destruction of the temple in the year 70.

By predicting the elevation of Vespasian as the future emperor, Josephus gained the favor of the Flavian family, that is, Vespasian and his sons Titus and Domitian, who were to rule as emperors from 69 to 96. He also received the name "Flavius," Roman citizenship, and a residence in Rome. Josephus was honored in Rome, but was vilified by his compatriots as a turncoat. He attempted in his writings to defend himself and the actions of his Roman patrons, but he also championed the Jews and their religion.

Josephus' native language was Aramaic, but he wrote his four works in Greek. *Bellum Judaicum* (*The Jewish War*) is his masterpiece, a riveting, eyewitness account of the First Jewish Revolt against the Romans (66–74), which was published before the death of Vespasian in 79. The first edition of the work was written in Aramaic and sent to the Jews of Mesopotamia to dissuade them from revolting against the Romans.

The Life of Josephus was an appendix to *Jewish Antiquities*. This apologia was called forth by the account of a Justus of Tiberias, who blamed Josephus as the instigator of the revolt against the Romans in Galilee. In *The Jewish War* Josephus had depicted himself as a valiant general; in *The Life* he transformed himself into a man of peace, who reluctantly accepted the command of Galilee. Josephus' *Against Apion* is a refutation of slanderous attacks upon the Jews and is a brilliant defence of Judaism.

Antiquitates Judaicae (*Jewish Antiquities*) is his *magnum opus*, which was evidently completed around 94. It contains some divergent accounts of the same incidents recounted in *The Jewish War*. The first ten books parallel the Old Testament, books 11 to 13 cover the Intertestamental era, books 15 to 17 describe the events of the reign of Herod the Great, and books 18 to 20 continue the narrative to the end of the war. In paraphrasing scriptures, Josephus omitted disreputable incidents, and reinterpreted the stories to appeal to his Roman audience. Josephus explicated the prophecy of Daniel 8 as being fulfilled by the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans.

Josephus has important references to John the Baptist and to the martyrdom of James, the brother of Jesus. His most celebrated passage is the "Testimonium Flavianum," which has laudatory references to Jesus. This was cited by both Origen in the 3rd century and by Eusebius in the 4th. The Testimonium Flavianum has been rejected as a total fabrication by some scholars, but the consensus of Jewish and Christian scholars today is that the core of the passage is authentic, although clearly Christian interpolations have been added.

It is ironic that Josephus was for centuries neglected by the Jews. It was only in the 10th century that a Hebrew version attributed to Yosippon (or Josippon) came into circulation among them. On the other hand, Josephus was cherished by Christians, especially for the Testimonium Flavianum and for his account of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was held to be God's ratification of Judaism's replacement by Christianity. Many Crusaders carried copies of Josephus with them to the Holy Land. Recent developments such as the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and excavations in Israel have enhanced Josephus' reputation as they confirm his account of the Essenes and his description of various sites such as Jerusalem and Masada.

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI

See also Cassiodorus; Eusebius; Jewish; Roman; Wellhausen

Biography

Flavius Josephus. Born Jerusalem, 37/38 CE, to a noble family, descended from priests and royalty. Studied at a rabbinic school, with training from Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Emissary to Rome, 64; military commander in Jewish revolt against Rome, 66–67; besieged at Jotapata and captured, but pardoned by Vespasian; settled in Rome and became citizen. Died, probably in Rome, c.94.

Principal Writings

Bellum Judaicum, c.75/79

Antiquitates Judaicae, c.93/94

Works (Loeb edition; includes *The Life, Against Apion, The Jewish War, Jewish Antiquities*), translated by H. St. J. Thackeray, Ralph Marcus, A.P. Wikgren, and L.H. Feldman, 10 vols., 1926–81

Further Reading

Attridge, Harold W., *The Presentation of Biblical History in the "Antiquitates Judaicae" of Flavius Josephus*, Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976

Attridge, Harold W., "Josephus and His Works," in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Aasen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984*

- Bilde, Per, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988
- Cohen, Shaye, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*, Leiden: Brill, 1979
- Feldman, Louis, and Gohei Hata, eds., *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987
- Feldman, Louis, and Gohei Hata, eds., *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989
- Maier, Paul, *Josephus: The Essential Writings: A Condensation of Jewish Antiquities and the Jewish War*, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1988
- Mason, Steve, *Josephus and the New Testament*, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992
- Meier, John P., "Jesus in Josephus: A Modest Proposal," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 52 (1990), 76-103
- Parente, Fausto, and Joseph Sievers, eds., *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, Leiden: Brill, 1995
- Rajak, Tessa, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*, London: Duckworth, 1983; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984
- Schreckenberg, Heinz, and Karl Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*, Assen: Van Gorcum, and Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992
- Yamauchi, Edwin M., "Josephus and the Scriptures," *Fides et Historia* 13 (1980), 42-63

HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Outline, for the Second Semester

Asian Church History

Syrian Period (100-226 A.D.)

- Tatian, Address to the Greeks
- x The Acts of Thomas
- Bardaisan, Dialogue on Fate
- Odes and Psalms of Solomon
- x The Doctrine of Addai
- x The History of Mshika-Zkha
- x Acta Sancta Maris....

Persian Period (226-642 A.D.)

J. R. Chabot, ed. Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens..410 A.D. to 790 A.D.

Statutes of the School of Nisibis, ed. A. Voobus

Homilies of Jacob (James) of Nisibis. (Aphraates)

Ephraem Syrus, Carmen Nisibana

Joshua Stylites, A Hist. of the Time of Affliction at Edessa...

Simeon of Beth Ashram

The Book of the Himyarites, ed. A. Moberg

The Book of Consolations or The Pastoral Epistles of Mar Ishoyab

Zachariah of Mitylene, Ecclesiastical History

James of Edessa, Chronicle

Chronicon Edessenum

John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History

Arab Period (642-1258 A.D.)

Thomas of Marga, The Book of Governors: Historia Monastica

Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria,

(the Liber Turris of Mari and Amr), ed. GismondI.

Elias Bar Shinaya, Chronographia

Michael the Syrian, Chronicle

Bar Hebraeus, Chronography

HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY

JOSEPHUS

ca. 46
(37-ca. 90)

Josephus Flavius (to give him his Roman name), or Joseph ben Matthias (as he was born, a Jew) came from a highly aristocratic Jewish family, a descendant of Jonathan the Maccabee. He was born in 37 or 38 A.D., about one year after the recall of Pontius Pilate from Judaea. He is not properly speaking, a church historian, but as a Jewish historian, living so close to the time of Jesus and as a contemporary of the first disciples, his eye-witness reports of the turbulent years in Palestine in the first century A.D. are an invaluable mine of information about the world in which the Christian church was born.

At the age of 19, after studying the various sects of the Jews, Josephus chose to become a Pharisee. In 64 A.D. when only 26 he was sent to Rome as ambassador on a mission to ask for the release of certain Jews who had been imprisoned. This was the year of the burning of Rome, and the beginning of the persecution of the Christians. Paul may have been in a dungeon at that very time near the forum. But Josephus does not mention the Christians. In fact, only one or two passing references in all his books refer to Christians, as we shall see. While in Rome, he was greatly impressed with the power and culture of the Empire, and from that moment on "appears to have been quite sincere in his desire, though somewhat shifty in his tactics, to bring about better relations between the Jews and the Romans". (Kirsopp Lake, "Introduction" to Eusebius, in the Loeb Classical Lib. Harvard, vol. 1, p. 35)

In 66 B.C. came the turning point in his life, the war between the Jews and Rome. He had tried hard to avert it, for he felt that if the Jews revolted they would have no chance, but once the war began, he fought for his people. At the age of 29 he was made a general and given command of Galilee with an army of 65,000 troops. Besieged at Jotapata he held out for 47 days but finally surrendered. He was one of only two survivors, and because he had preferred surrender to death, his fellow Jews considered him a traitor and were suspicious of him all the rest of his life.

His life was spared in a dramatic way. Brought before Nero's conquering Roman general, Vespasian, he was about to be killed. Quickly he declared he had a prophecy to make: Vespasian would become Emperor. Intrigued, the general ordered him to be kept safe. And in July 69 Vespasian did indeed become Emperor. He freed Josephus from prison, and the historian returned with Titus to Jerusalem where he was given grants of

land and the privilege of Roman citizenship. He may have lived until after 100 A.D. He was the first Jewish historian to attract gentile attention.

He began his writing after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. with the purpose of reconciling Jews and Romans. His works include two major histories and two minor writings:

- a. Major works: The Jewish War (유대 전쟁기)
The Antiquities (유대 고사기)
- b. Minor works: Against Apion (아피오의 항의)
The Life (Autobiography) (자서전)

History of the Jewish War (published 75-79 A.D.). This is his most famous and earliest work. He wrote with several advantages: as a Jewish general, as a direct combatant, and as a prisoner with access to Roman sources. Its purpose was not only to bring peace between Romans and Jews, but to discourage all further resistance to Rome in the east, among Parthians, the Jews of Mesopotamia and Adiabene. Of its seven books, Bks. I and II give background history from Antiochus Epiphanes (170 BC) to the death of Herod, with considerable information about Herod's domestic troubles, and then to the outbreak of the war in 66 A.D. Book III contains the account of Vespasian's Galileean campaign in 67 A.D. including the capture of Josephus at Jotapata. Book IV chronicles the isolation of Jerusalem and the raising of Vespasian to the throne as Emperor (68-69 AD). Bks. V and VI. record the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D.; and the VII tells of the return to Rome and the defeat of later rebels.

His sources seem to have been his own personal experience, the commentaries of Vespasian and Titus, the writings of Nicolas of Damascus, a friend of Herod and author of a Universal History (144 volumes), and King Agrippa II. His bias is clearly pro-Roman. A pro-Jewish history of the war by Justus of Tiberius, which would have balanced Josephus' account, is unfortunately lost.

Antiquities of the Jews (published ca. 93). This is a supplement to the history of the war, giving in larger detail the whole history of the Jews up to the war. It is, in essence, a systematized Old Testament history, in twenty books, written in Latin.

Minor Works. The two books Against Apion ^{are} is a refutation of a work written by a famous controversialist against the Jews, and were written almost immediately after Josephus finished the Antiquities. Later, in his old age, he wrote his Autobiography, an attempt to clear himself from the charge of treason against his own people.

Of particular interest to church historians, in addition to the light his works shed on the history of the age in which the church was born, are a few scattered and ambiguous references to Christians and to Christ.

The most famous of these is a disputed passage in the Antiquities of the Jews (xviii. 63 f.) in which his discussion of Pilate's governorship includes an apparent eulogy of Christ. The passage reads:

"Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works--a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ; and when Pilate at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that love'd him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the k divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him, and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct to this day."

Such a passage, in Greek, by a non-Christian Jewish historian, has been for centuries the most cited piece of ~~non~~ secular witness to the historicity of Jesus, for it contains much more detail than the spare references in Tacitus and Pliny. It seemed almost too good to be true, and since Josephus has always been read by historians with caution, it was considered by many to be perhaps a spurious addition to his text by some pious Christian editor.

Two years ago, however, Professor Shlomo Pines, a Jewish professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem discovered a 10th century Arabic text of Josephus which contains this same reference but in what he considers to be a more authentic (and less Christian) reading. Time (Feb. 28, 1972, p. 43) reports: "To begin with, Pines' version simply describes Jesus as 'a wise man' whose 'conduct was good' and who 'was known to be virtuous'. Moreover, it does not mention any involvement of the Jewish leaders in Jesus' trial, a good test of authenticity; any Christian apologist tempted to tamper with the text would almost surely have mentioned the Jews' role. As far as the resurrection is concerned, the 10th c. manuscript recounts it only as a claim: 'His disciples..reported that he had appeared to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive; accordingly he was perhaps the Messiah concerning whom the prophets have recounted wonders.'" "

As the scholars of the Hebrew University reconstruct it, the 10th c., "more authentic version" survived intact because it was in Syriac, while the later, more Christian, recension may have come from a quotation of Josephus in Eusebius. They speculate that his earlier editions ^{of Eusebius} may have contained the milder "original" which was changed to be more Christian in later editions.

Time concludes: "The irony is that whoever tinkered with the original Josephus passage--whether it was Eusebius or some other eager apologist--ended up ^{with} making Josephus' testimony ^{suspect} to later generations. In his zeal to refashion Josephus' Jesus in the Christian mold, the tamperer only succeeded in weakening the credibility of the text--even as proof of Jesus' existence.

Josephus and Jesus

About this time there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a teacher of such people as accept the truth gladly . . . He was the Messiah. When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing among us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had . . . come to love [him] did not cease. On the third day he appeared to them restored to life. For the prophets of God had prophesied these and myriads of other marvelous [things] about him . . ."

—Flavius Josephus, in
The Antiquities of the Jews

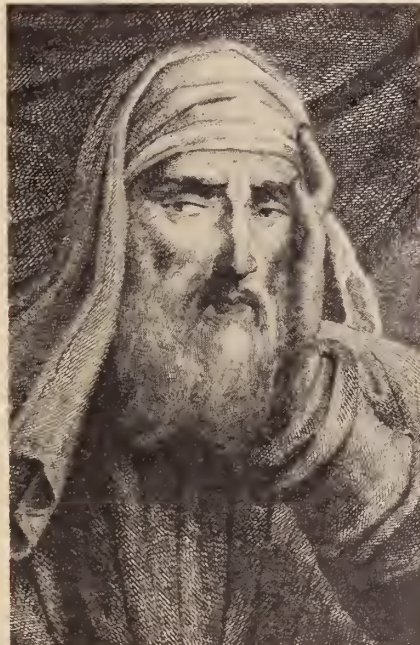
That passage by Josephus, a 1st century Jewish historian writing in Greek, was for centuries perhaps the most cited piece of non-Christian testimony to the life and works of Jesus. Tacitus and Pliny mentioned Jesus briefly, as did Josephus in another shorter passage in his *Antiquities*. But Josephus' ingenuous paragraph appeared to be everything that Christian apologists could ask from a supposedly unbiased source: virtual confirmation of the basic truths of their faith. The trouble was, scholars began to object during the Enlightenment, that such a passage could hardly have been written by a nonbeliever, and had almost certainly been reworked by some pious Christian editor. As historical evidence, the *Testimonium Flavianum*, as the passage was called, fell into disrepute.

Now a clearly more authentic version of Josephus' testimony has surfaced. Professor Shlomo Pines, a Jew and professor of philosophy at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has announced the discovery of a long-overlooked text of the Josephus passage in a 10th century Arabic work. Despite the relative lateness of the work, Pines contends that it is far closer to what Josephus originally may have written than the traditional Greek text is.

Good Conduct. To begin with, Pines' version simply describes Jesus as "a wise man" whose "conduct was good" and who "was known to be virtuous." Moreover, it does not mention any involvement of the Jewish leaders in Jesus' trial, a good test of authenticity; any Christian apologist tempted to tamper with the text would almost surely have mentioned the Jews' role. As far as the resurrection is concerned, the 10th century manuscript recounts it only as a claim: "His disciples . . . reported that he had appeared to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive; accordingly, he was perhaps the Messiah concerning whom the prophets have recounted wonders."

Pines considers it probable that the

newly discovered passage was at least partially written by Josephus. His colleague at Hebrew University, Comparative Religion Professor David Flusser, regards its authenticity as certain. But the two agree in thinking that the new passage derives from a quotation of Josephus in an early edition of an ecclesiastical history by Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, a commanding figure of 3rd and 4th century Christianity. In a later edition of his history, they speculate, Eusebius inserted instead the traditional *Testimonium Flavianum* because it was more in keeping with the Christian conception of Jesus. Only the fact that the more authentic passage was



JEWISH HISTORIAN FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
Saved from the editors.

passed down to the 10th century in Syriac, the scholars believe, may have saved it from church editors.

The irony is that whoever tinkered with the original Josephus passage—whether it was Eusebius or some other eager apologist—ended up making Josephus' testimony suspect to later generations. In his zeal to refashion Josephus' Jesus in the Christian mold, the tamperer succeeded only in weakening the credibility of the text—even as proof of Jesus' existence.

Tidings

► The filmstrips were part of a sex education course prepared by the Unitarian Universalist Association, but that cut no ice with the district attorney of Waukesha County, Wis. The strips included scenes of a nude couple having intercourse, of masturbation and of the behavior of homosexuals. D.A. Richard McConnell told the Uni-

tarian Church West in the Milwaukee suburb of Brookfield that if it showed the strips without first establishing "ground rules" with him, "prosecution could be the result." The 345 members of the congregation, convinced that the course was suitable for their twelve- to 14-year-old children, voted to go ahead with it. They also brought a federal suit to prevent McConnell from prosecuting. The court issued a temporary injunction. Last week the course began. Interference with it, warned Judge John W. Reynolds, would violate "three of the most fundamental rights an American has—freedom of religion, freedom of parents to educate their children, and freedom of speech."

► The name of the game is names in the newly renamed Zaïre Republic, formerly Republic of the Congo. When President Joseph Mobutu announced a "return to Zaïre authenticity" last month and changed his name to one with a more African sound, Mobutu-Sese-Seko (TIME, Jan. 24), many of Zaïre's citizens loyally followed suit. But then came a word of caution to the nation's 8,000,000 Roman Catholics from Joseph Cardinal Malula, 54, Archbishop of Kinshasa and one of Africa's three black cardinals. Malula, though long an advocate of African culture, balked at Christians giving up their baptismal names, and said so in an article in the Catholic weekly magazine, *Afrique Chrétienne*. Roman Catholic Mobutu promptly bounced the cardinal from his government-owned residence and suspended the magazine for six months. At a rally, Mobutu said that his onetime close friend Malula "must no longer be Archbishop of Kinshasa." Last week the situation seemed to ease somewhat. Zaïre's ruling party ordered that African names are henceforth required, but noted that new identity cards would also carry the bearer's baptismal name in small print. Meanwhile, the Vatican announced a new rite for adult Christian baptism that provided that future converts could keep their indigenous names rather than take those of saints.

► When Pope Paul promised in a "pastoral instruction" last summer to improve the often sluggish flow of Vatican news, Press Spokesman Father Edward L. Heston insisted that the Holy See would practice what it preached. Heston, 64, an American priest of the Congregation of Holy Cross, was soon named president of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications. Since then, Rome newsmen have noted an improvement in the release of Vatican information. Yet Heston observed recently: "Often a sergeant is capable of doing as good a job as a general, but he can't because he doesn't have the stars on his shoulders." Now Heston has his stars. Consecrated an archbishop last week by the Pope in St. Peter's, Heston took his elevation as proof that "the Holy Father is not entirely displeased" with his work.

Dotty Daughter

"I love all those loony old dames," Soprano Joan Sutherland once said of the delicately demented ladies she plays so often in 19th century operas. Despite Sutherland's mien of being constructed of equal parts dignity and marble, friends and colleagues have often hinted that the Australian diva has a healthy streak of lunacy herself. But it took a new production of Donizetti's *La Fille du Régiment* (The Daughter of the Regiment) at Manhattan's Metropolitan Opera last week to prove that Sutherland can camp,

LOUIS MELANCON



SUTHERLAND IN "FILLE" AT THE MET
Farce and pealing E-flats.

shriek, mug and stomp about in boots delightfully without missing a *gruppetto* or smudging a *staccato*.

La Fille, composed in 1840, is a tale about a lowly orphan girl who is brought up by a regiment of soldiers, then, turning out to be nobly born, goes to live in a castle and tries to become a lady. Not even Donizetti took the story very seriously. He doused it in music that falls considerably short of such masterpieces as *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *L'Elisir d'Amore*, often seeming to be merely a chain of inconclusive finales. Before the ultimate one, though, there are limitless opportunities for the prima donna to cut up and rattle off *floriture*.

Sutherland played the farce nearly as well as she sustained her pealing top E-flats. Faking a drum roll, getting her feet twisted in a minuet, ripping off a dazzling 2½-octave chromatic scale, while tearing up some papers

and scattering them into the orchestra pit, she shed fresh brilliance on Donizetti's faded opus and the old-fashioned production imported by the Met from London's Covent Garden.

There was brilliance, too, from Tenor Luciano Pavarotti (TIME, Jan. 31), who trumpeted nine soaring high Cs, all in one aria, provoking the Met audience into a howling, stamping ovation. But the high point of the evening for many buffs came at the end, when retired Soprano Ljuba Welitch, 58, her flame-red hair blazing, her gestures still full of the pantherish passion that made her *Salome* a legend two decades ago, strode onstage for a brief speaking role. Oldtimers responded with a tearful hand-clapping tribute in memory of the past.

■ Robert T. Jones

Pop Goes the Bible

J.B., a record-industry mogul: "You all know why we're here."

Staff: "Right, J.B."

"Religion is in, protest out. Right?"

"Right, J.B."

"We have to move fast. We can't do the seven last days of Christ, because those English kids beat us to it with J.C. Superstar. We can't do a Mass, because Lenny Bernstein's got that market cornered. But that's the kind of product I'm after. I want a heavenly voice, and I want message."

"Well, J.B., we have here a property called the Messiah. It's got everything going for it, starting with a steady, 230-year track record. It has a Christmas section and—get this—an Easter section too. How can we miss? And listen. There's a Pastoral Symphony for the country-and-western crowd. Set it to rock and—"

"Boys and girls, I buy it. Just keep the beat and the chord changes simple. And don't forget to put a cross on the jacket cover."

That probably is not the way the new RCA rock version of Handel's *Messiah* came into being—but one wonders. Rarely has so much conceit, commercial cynicism, bad taste, musical ignorance and all-round incompetence been brought together within the grooves of a single LP. Written and arranged by Producer David Axelrod (Electric Prunes), conducted by the jazz world's Cannonball Adderley, the RCA *Messiah* has something to offend everyone. For lovers of vocal style, there is singing that would not pass muster in the 1950s-parody group Sha-Na-Na. For devotees of pure rock, there is numbingly dreary rhythm and somnolent guitar work. For connoisseurs of modesty, there is this blurb on the record jacket by the album's producer, Ronald Budnik: "It is hoped that Axelrod's work will bring to light

and punctuate the creative acumen of Handel . . ."

Handel will survive; so will *Messiah*. What Axelrod's work really brings to light is the fact that the sheep of the record industry are off and herding again. Not all of the new religious-rock LPs—the sons of *Jesus Christ Superstar*—are blatant rip-offs. Indeed, a few display genuine sincerity, even talent. But all of them, the best and the worst, demonstrate that *Superstar* Authors Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice do seem to have something of a monopoly on skill and taste in the field. Items:

Truth of Truths (Oak, \$9.96; two LPs). Nothing less than both Testaments, from the Creation and Fall to the Resurrection and Prophecies. A DeMille-like cast of composers, arrangers, soloists, orchestra, chorus and a bored Jim Backus ("Mr. Magoo") intoning into an echo chamber: "I am the living God." Ghostly.

Rock Requiem, by Lalo Schifrin (Verve, \$5.98). An adept, well-intended tribute to the victims of Viet Nam, unfortunately lacking the snap and originality that Schifrin brings to his commercial Hollywood scores (*Mission: Impossible*, *Mammoth*).

Divine Hair—Mass in F, by Galt MacDermot (RCA, \$5.98). Lackluster settings of the Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, Kyrie, Gloria, even the Lord's Prayer, combed into hits from MacDermot's *Hair*, just as they were in the original presentation last year at Manhattan's Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Rock Mass for Love (Decca, \$5.98). A live recording of a celebration last March in St. George's Cathedral, Perth, Australia, presided over by the Dean of Perth, the Very Rev. John Hazlewood. In addition to being a rare sampling—for the rest of the world—of Australian rock, this is a surprisingly effective blend of hot licks and liturgy. Tom Davidson's rock group, Bakery, shows the influence of Britain's Traffic, Bruce Devenish's Jazz Ensemble that of several top U.S. jazz combos. Together they underline Dean Hazlewood's pronouncements with simple directness and, occasionally, clever point.

The Survival of St. Joan (Paramount, \$9.96; two LPs). The cast recording of a 1971 off-Broadway show based on the legend that Joan's life was spared by substituting another girl at the stake. Though hardly an orthodox look at Joan (among other things, she has a love affair with a farmer), *Survival* comes across well enough on disk, largely because the group Smokerise manages to operate within the rock mainstream (Beatles to Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young) and still have something original to say.

Hard Job Being God, a self-styled, self-conscious rock opera by Folk Singer Tom Martel (GWP, \$4.98). Amen. ■ William Bender

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA
(ca. 260 - 339 A.D.)

There is no contemporary biography of Eusebius. One written by Acacius, his successor as bishop of Caesarea, is lost. He was usually called Eusebius of Pamphilus, because of some close relationship, perhaps as student, to the Phoenician scholar and book collector whose library at Caesarea Eusebius used in his research. He was also called "the Palestinian". But today he is known as Eusebius of Caesarea to distinguish him from another Eusebius of that time, the bishop of Nicomedia.

He is rightly called "the father of church history" for he was the first, as he himself noted (Hist. Ecc. I. l. v) to put together as a historical unity the narrative of the early years of the Christian church. But he was more than a historian. He was a many-sided figure. The historian treasures his Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History; the classical scholar considers him notable for his Praeparatio Evangelica with its valuable information about centuries of Greek literature; the geographer remembers him for his Onomasticon; and to the theologian he is important as a controversialist in the battles over the Arian heresy and as a leading figure in the Council of Nicaea.

Abbe Duchesne says of him, in his The Early History of the Church (vol. II, London, 1912, p. 126):

"Eusebius was a man of elaborate learning. He knew everything: history, biblical and profane, ancient literature, philosophy, geography, mathematical computation, and exegesis. In his great works, the Praeparatio Evangelica and the Demonstratio Evangelica, he had explained Christianity to the educated public; by his Chronicle and his Ecclesiastical History, he had drawn up its Annals; he had defended Christianity against Porphyry and Hierocles.. He commented upon Isaiah, the Psalter, and other books. Was anyone in need of explanations upon the difficult question of Easter, in which exegesis, ritual and astronomy were inextricably involved? He was there to give them. Public attention was then beginning to be attracted toward the Holy Places. Eusebius, who knew Palestine and the Bible thoroughly, explained the names of the places and of the peoples who figure in Holy Scripture, described Judaea, and reconstructed the ancient topography of the Holy City.. He was the orator marked out for great ceremonial occasions.. It was to him that the emperor had recourse whenever he needed copies of the Bible well copied and perfectly correct."

Of the life of Eusebius, little is known of his early years save that he spent his youth in Palestine. He was a student of Pamphilus, an Origenist from Alexandria who built a library and school in Caesarea. This library, plus his own

commitment to careful research were what made Eusebius the first historian of the Church. Before him, only isolated stories of churches in particular areas had been recorded. Eusebius may have been elected directly to the bishopric of Caesarea without previous ordination as deacon and priest. In the year 309, during the Palestinian persecutions under the governor Firmilianus he was imprisoned, but not tortured. It was after his release from prison that he was made bishop, in 313 or 314. In 325 he was one of the leaders at the Council of Nicaea as a chief theological adviser to the Emperor Constantine. Nicaea was divided between Arians and Athanasians, and finally declared Arianism a heresy, but Eusebius belonged to a moderate group trying to find a compromise. His own position was probably somewhat pro-Arian, but it was the creed from Eusebius's own church in Caesarea which was finally approved with modifications as the Nicene Creed. Eusebius died shortly after the death of the Emperor he served, about 339 A.D.

The involvement of Eusebius in the Arian controversy began in the year 318 when Arius was excommunicated by the Bishop of Alexandria for teaching that the second person of the Trinity was a created being. Eusebius never actually endorsed the Arian position, but worked hard against his excommunication, and even before Nicaea, at the Council of Antioch in 324 was one of only 3 bishops ~~who~~ (out of 56) who voted against its anti-Arian creed. At Nicaea he questioned the phrases "of the substance of the Father", and "begotten, not made", but finally reluctantly accepted the phrasing of the Council. His account of the Nicene Council is given in his Life of Constantine, but is more descriptive than doctrinal. Eusebius taught that the Logos existed from the beginning with God the Father, but he is ambiguous as to whether the Logos was created by the father.

Among his numerous writings, the most important are:

1. The Chronicon. Believing that the foundation of history is accurate chronology, Eusebius formulated this chronicle of the history of the world in parallel columns arranged for each year. It was written in two parts. Part I, the Chronography, was an introduction to the nations of antiquity, written in continuous prose and extending to the year 325, but it has been lost. Part II, the Chronological Canons, contains the parallel records of sacred and secular history in columns.

2. The Praeparatio Evangelica and the Demonstratio Evangelica are apologetic statements of the case for Christianity against paganism, written during the years of persecution (309 - ca. 313). A somewhat similar work, the General Elementary Introduction survives only in part as the four books of the Eclogae, or Prophetic Extracts.

3. The Ecclesiastical History is, of course, his greatest work, begun probably about 311 A.D. and finished in 324 or a little later. Books I to VII contain the past history of the church. Book VIII is his own account of the persecutions of his time. Book IX was added when Maximian revived the persecutions, and contains Eusebius' own philosophy of history. Book X brings the history to its end about 324, and was added some eleven years later. It is, in essence, an apologetic history, that is, a history written in defense of the truth of the Christian faith. Its aim was to prove that from beginning to end the Church had been favoured and guided by God through all misfortunes to final victory.

4. While writing the History Eusebius also wrote some subsidiary volumes of history, the most important of which is the Martyrs of Palestine, written at the conclusion of the great persecutions which had begun in 303 under Diocletian and ended only in 313. Only Eusebius preserves in detail (and then only for his own province of Palestine) the authentic terrors of the Roman persecutions which were quickly forgotten after the victory of Constantine. It is interesting to note that not one of the 20 Palestinian bishops, and only one priest, were among the 43 martyrs; and that the executions were not for a simple refusal to sacrifice, but for the manner in which the martyrs insisted upon aggravating the Roman authorities in their manner of refusal (Duchesne, Early Hist of the Ch., vol. II, p. 32 f.) Eusebius himself managed to escape from Caesarea, but was imprisoned for his faith in Egypt.

5. The Laus Constantin or Life of Constantine was not so much a biography of the Emperor as an eulogy. In the early 20th century it was sharply questioned on its authenticity by Heikel (1902), Bardenheuer (1912) and others.

Eusebius's principal sources were: for Book I, Josephus, Julius Africanus, and the Chronicles of Edessa. The last named is of particular interest to historians of the church in Asia, for it was the source of his information about the beginnings of the church in Edessa, and the "Nestorians" whose missions as far as China were a dramatic part of Christian expansion in Asia. Though the credibility of the Abgar-Jesus correspondence which Eusebius cites from those archives is naturally suspect, the existence of the archives is unquestioned. They consisted of two divisions: an ancient royal archive and a later ecclesiastical one dating perhaps back to the beginning of the fourth century (Kirsopp Lake, in Loeb edition of Eusebius, p. xxxix, 1949). Sources in Book II are Josephus, Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Hegesippus; for Book III, in addition to the above cited authors, he refers to Papias, Caius, Clement of Rome and Ignatius. Book IV, referring to the Jewish rebellion, cites Aristo of Pella, Quadrates and Aristides, Justin Martyr and Tatian. In Book V, dealing with the persecution of the Christian in the time of Marcus Aurelius, he quotes extensively from the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne which is no longer extant, and from Irenaeus.

As to his philosophy of History, his major presupposition is that "the unity of God's purpose for mankind and the consequent unity of the whole story of mankind from beginning to end." The axis of history runs from Abraham to Christ to Constantine, and in the emperor who became Christian, the promise to Abraham is fulfilled. Moses represents only a temporary Jewish dispensation, abolished by Christ. The Christian faith, therefore, is founded on the patriarchs, not on Moses and the law. Eusebius is anti-chiliasm, against Justin, Tertullian and Papias. Origen killed chiliasm in the east, Augustine killed it in the west. (~~ibid.~~ see H.E. iii. 39.12 f.)

Prior to Eusebius, only a few bishops in Asia Minor had voiced the theme that Empire and church were "two works conjointly designed by God for the redemption of mankind." The Church reconciled man with his Creator; the Empire achieved political unification by terminating the diverse kingdoms incited to war by demonic gods. Now Christians should confess one God, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one empire and one emperor... (Benton, Christianity, etc., p. 95). This was to be the dominant philosophy of history of the church until the fall of Rome and Augustus's City of God.

RUFINUS

(b. ca. 344 A.D.)

Tyrannius Rufinus has a place in the history of church history not as a historian but as a translator. About the year 400, as Alaric the Goth moved into northern Italy toward the sack of Rome (in 410), Rufinus set about to translate the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius into Latin in order to calm the minds of troubled Christians with the history of God's saving victories through the church. His translations are all the more important because being in Latin they were kept and read all during the Middle Ages, and were, in fact, among the very earliest books ever printed in Europe. The Ecclesiastical History was printed as early as 1474, in Paris.

Rufinus was born in Italy, in Concordia, of Christian parents, apparently, about the year 344 or 345. He was not baptized until he was 28, by which time he was already a member of an ascetic monastic community to which the famous Jerome, translator of the Bible into Latin, also belonged. On a pilgrimage to Egypt, during a persecution of orthodox Christians by Arians, he was imprisoned and banished, ending up after some journeys in a monastery on the Mount of Olives which was his home for eighteen years (379-397). Jerome, his friend, established a similar community in Bethlehem, close by, but there developed a serious rift between the two which was not healed until shortly before Rufinus left Palestine for Italy. Unfortunately, a mention of ~~xxxpreface~~ Jerome in a preface to a translation of Origen soon reopened the quarrel.

From 399 to about 409 he lived in Aquilea, near his birth-place. Here he wrote most of his major works and translations. He is most famed for his translations of Origen and Pamphilus and of the Recognitions of Clement supposedly but erroneously written by Clement of Rome. But hisotrians are indebted to him for two original works and two translations. The original works are an Ecclesiastical History in two books, continuing Eusebius and used by Socrates; and The History of the Monks of Egypt, much like the Lausiac History of Palladius. His translations are the very important Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and the Rule of St. Basil. He died in Sicily on his way to Palestine in a great company of pilgrims and refugees leaving Italy just before Alaric's sack of Rome, perhaps in 409 or 410.

AUGUSTINE

(354-430 A.D.)

It is as true of church history as of secular history that great ~~events~~ changes in the course of human events signal changes in the interpretations of history. At such times the underlying, and often unacknowledged, philosophy of history becomes even more important to the historian than the recording of history. Augustine stands at one of those decisive turning points. His City of God, therefore, though not in itself a history, has become what is probably the most influential single book ever written in the field of church history. As G. G. Coulton of Cambridge has said, "It is the first attempt in all literature to formulate a philosophy of history" ("Is a Science of History Possible", in Christianity and History: vol. XVIII of The Modern Churchman; Sep.-Nov. 1928, p. 315)

The turning point that produced the philosophy was the fall of Rome. Rome fell four times, actually, in less than 150 years: to Alaric the Goth on Aug. 24, 410; to Gaiseric the Vandal in 455; to Ricimer the German in 472; and to Totila the Ostrogoth in 543. But it was the first fall in 410 that shook the world and led Augustine to undertake a new explanation of the relationship of Christianity to history. Here is how he himself describes his reason for writing his masterpiece (in his Retractations, ii, 43):

"Rome having been stormed and sacked by the Goths under Alaric their king, the worshippers of false gods, or pagans, as we commonly call them, made an attempt to attribute this calamity to the Christian religion, and began to blaspheme the true God with even more than their wonted bitterness and acerbity. It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the city of God against the charges and misrepresentations of its assailants."

Augustine did more than simply refute the charge that Rome fell because it forsook the old gods and turned Christian. His book changed the viewpoint of writers of church history for the next 1000 years. The first hundred years of the writing of church history,-- from 324 to 426 A.D.--are stamped with the mark of Eusebius, the father of church history. He, and those who followed him, tied the history and fortunes of the church to the history of the Christian state, converted Rome. When Rome fell, that position became untenable. It was Augustine who found firmer ground for a Christian philosophy of history in the view that God's ruling providence in history is centered not in the state (the city of earth) which may fall, but in His church (the City of God) which endures forever.

The lives of few famous men are known in more intimate detail than that of Augustine whose autobiography, the Confessions (written about 400), is the record of his spiritual life up to his

conversion, when he was 33 years old; and whose career as churchman and theologian is clearly written in a contemporary biography by his pupil and friend Possidius, bishop of Calamis. The story of his life is too well known to need retelling: born in 354 in North Africa; at 16 sent to university in Carthage; at 19 he leaves the study of law to seek for truth, first in Manicheism for nine years, then under the influence of Ambrose he was led from Manicheism into philosophy for three years, and finally converted, (386), and baptized (387). He returned to Africa and became priest (391) and then bishop of Hippo (395).

Augustine was the most influential Christian in church history, as churchman and theologian, between Paul and the Reformation. His theology was moulded by his struggle against three great heresies: Manichaeism, Donatism and Pelagianism. Against Manichaeism he taught that God alone is supreme creator and that evil is only secondary and privative (that is, the absence of some good that ought to be). Against the Donatists, who were puritan, African nationalist schismatics contending that those who had compromised with emperor-worship could never be forgiven and readmitted to the ministry, Augustine defended the unity of the church and its holiness as coming from God not from the purity of its members, and accepted the aid of the state in punishing heresy. Against the Pelagians who emphasized man's role in salvation, Augustine developed his important teachings on original sin and the inability of man as compared with the irresistible grace of God in predestination. There are two sides to Augustine in these controversies. Against the Donatists he is strongly Catholic; against the Pelagians he is thoroughly evangelical and almost Protestant.

But it is the philosophy of history which he developed in The City of God which most concerns us in the study of church history. He worked on it for thirteen years, from his 59th to his 72nd years. It is divided into two parts: the first ten books negative, and the second ^{twelve} constructive in their argument. Books 1 to 5 refute the pagan superstition that earthly prosperity is tied to the worship of the heathen gods. Books 5 to 10 combat the Neo-platonist belief that though even the worship of the gods does not necessarily avert misfortune from believers in this life, the gods must be worshiped for the happiness they will give in the next life. Then in the second portion Augustine develops his great master-thought and pattern of history as the story of two cities (or kingdoms), the city of God which will last forever, and the city of this world which falls as empires rise and fall.

In Books 11 to 14 he describes the origin of the two kingdoms in the creation of angels and the fall of the rebellious angels; Books 15 to 18 describes the development and progress of the two cities; and in Books 19 to 22 he sums up the whole history in its final end—the punishment of sin and the reward of righteousness.

The concept is not entirely original (it can be traced to Tyconius), and the work has many small faults, such as the fiction that peacock-neck never rots (xxi, 4, 7), or that the under-side of the

world must be uninhabited because people there would have to walk upside down, and besides the apostles did not go there to preach which they would certainly have done in obedience to the command of the Lord had there been any people there. (Bainton, Christendom, I, p. 123). But his reconciliation of human, historic catastrophes with the love and power of God is the definitive Christian answer, as the prophets are the Jewish answer, to the sufferings in this world of God's people.

The earthly city began with the fall of the angels; continues with the fall of man and the rise of the great world-empires. The heavenly city begins with creation and continues through Noah, Abraham, Israel, Christ and the church. One is rooted in love of God; the other in love of self. But it oversimplifies Augustine to make an absolute separation of the two. This was a later suggestion of Gregory the Great who saw the church as being naturally at enmity with the state, perhaps because of the incompetence of the emperor in Constantinople and the exarchy in Italy in his time. (Foakes Jackson, Hist of Ch. Hist., p. 94) In Augustine the relationship is more complex and more realistic. After all, the Roman empire was already Christian and could not be condemned as altogether evil, and the church on earth, like the field in the parable (Matt. 13), is obviously not perfect but a mixture of wheat and tares. The relationship between the two is not absolute separation or complete enmity, but of difference and tension and of mutual interpenetration and need one of the other. In its earthly visible existence the church borrows the form of the earthly state (xv. 2) and needs the protection of its law (xix. 17) which the churchman as well as the heathen must obey. But on the other hand, the state can never have even an earthly peace without recognition of the higher law of the city of God.

Though the inter-relationships of church and state are never entirely clarified in The City of God, one thing is very sure: when at the Judgment the two are finally separated, it is the city of earth which disappears, and the city of God which remains. In this work, Augustine, less Catholic and more Protestant, stresses the "invisible church", the true community of Christians who though found within the body of the institutionalized "visible church" are more truly united to God in the invisible kingdom of God on earth whose aim and object is directed not to this life but the life to come. (l. 35; xv. 4).

Three Greek historians after Eusebius: (1) Socrates
(2) Sozomen
(3) Theodoret

The histories of three other contemporary church historians have been lost: Philippus Sidetes, Philastorgius (an Arian), and Hesychius.

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS

(ca. 395 -)

Socrates the Lawyer (Scholasticus), "one of the most interesting and valuable early historians" (Wace & Piercy, Dict. of Xn Biog), was born in Constantinople some time between 378 (Foakes Jackson, Hist of Ch Hist, p. 74) and 408 (Wace & Piercy). As a layman, from outside Rome, he is less ecclesiastical and more independent in his judgment of the church than other historians. He was educated under two heathen sophists, Helladius and Ammonius, who had fled from Alexandria when their temple of Serapis was destroyed in the triumph of Christianity. He lived in critical times: the defeat of the Roman Emperor Valens by the Goths, the passing of the old religions, the Arian disputes in Constantinople, the patriarchates of John Chrysostom (398-404) and Nestorius (428-431), the Nestorian controversy. He finished his Ecclesiastical History in the year 439 A.C., but the date of his death is unknown.

His only work surviving is the Ecclesiastical History. This is a sequel to Eusebius, who had written the history of the church up to the year 324 A.D. Socrates begins his history in the year 306 A.D. when Constantine became Emperor, remarking that Eusebius Life of Constantine was more of a panegyric than a history, so he proposes to begin with the Emperor's conversion. He ends his history in 439 A.D. with the restoration of the relics of Chrysostom to Constantinople and the pilgrimage of the Empress Eudocia to Jerusalem. It is written in ~~six books~~ seven books.

Of the character of his history four things may be said. First, he was determined to be accurate. In his first book, he discovered he had relied too heavily on Rufinus (345-410), another historian who had earlier translated Eusebius into Latin and author of a short continuation of Eusebius and a History of the Egyptian Hermits. But when Socrates compared what Rufinus said about Athanasius and others with the original letters and documents about them which he had discovered, he decided that Rufinus was not to be trusted, and he apparently rewrote that section of his history to conform to the facts.

Second, he based his history on primary sources wherever possible, on original documentation, or eyewitnesses. He quotes extensively from the decrees of councils and letters of bishops.

Third, Socrates writes from the viewpoint of a layman and was therefore less ecclesiastically partisan and biased in his description of the heresies and schisms of the time. Broad-minded on theological matters, he dismisses much of the theological bickering and heresy-hunting of his times as "a fight in the dark". He was not impressed either by the orthodox nor the heretical, however famous. He admired Chrysostom but describes him, in Foakes Jackson's words, as "an eloquent saint who was at times
~~indifferent~~

indiscreet", while Nestorius, he implied, was "an eloquent fool who made mischief by discoursing on subjects he did not understand." (Hist. of Ch. Hist., p. 78). But Socrates tries to be fair to Nestorius, who, he says, was not the heretic that his opponents tried to make him out to be. He points out that Nestorius did not deny the humanity of Jesus, as was claimed, but was merely obsessed "by a mistaken idea that the word Theotokos as applied to the Blessed Virgin was an unwarranted novelty, whereas in fact it had long been in constant use by the Fathers" (Ibid, p. 79).

A fourth characteristic of Socrates is his almost superstitious love of miracle stories. This is a serious fault in a historian, but in this weakness he was a child of his age which inordinately loved the incredibly miraculous.

Socrates was far from the greatest of the early church historians, but his history remains an important source of indispensable information concerning numerous details in the life of the church of his time:

- a) Nestorianism and Nestorius.
- b) The beginnings of the secular power of the Roman church.
- c) The independence of the Eastern church from Rome.
- d) The missionary progress of the gospel among the Goths, Saracens and Persians.
- e) The Novatian controversy, in which he sympathetically noted considerable good in this puritan, nonconformist sect which has been compared to today's Plymouth Bretheren (Ibid, p. 81)
- f) The Egyptian monks.
- g) Councils, bishops and emperors.

Socrates limits his field almost entirely to the church in the east, and divides his history into books according to the reigns of eight eastern emperors:

- Book I. Constantine the Great (306 - 337 A.D.)
- II. Constantius II (337 - 360)
- III. Julian and Jovian, two short reigns (360-364)
- IV. Valens (364-378)
- V. Theodosius the Great (379-395)
- VI. Arcadius (395-408)
- VII. Theodosius the Younger, partial (408-439)

He recognized, but did not systematize a theology of the relationship between church and state, sensing that "the two spheres were not as much dissociated as one might assume" (Zenos). His comment is: "By a sort of sympathy the church takes part in the disturbances of the state," and "since the emperors became Christians, the affairs of the church have become dependent on them, and the greatest synods have been held and are held at their bidding". (Quoted by Zenos, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. II, p. xiii)

SOZOMEN

(b. ca. 375 A.D.)

Salaminius Hermias Sozomenus was born of a well-known Christian family in Palestine, near Gaza, and was probably of Phoenician (Philistine) ancestry, not Jewish. His grandfather, who had some fame as a Bible teacher, had been converted to the faith when he saw St. Hilarion, a disciple of the father of desert monasticism St Antony, cure a man possessed by a demon--a fact which may explain Sozomen's admiration of the life and miracles of the monks.

Like his contemporary, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen was a layman and a lawyer and the author of a church history which he projected as a sequel to the History of Eusebius. His early education was probably in an orthodox monastic school in Palestine, where he received a good Greek education, for his Greek style is superior to that of Socrates. He then went on to law school in Berytus (or perhaps Antioch or even Alexandria), and went from there to practice law in Constantinople perhaps about 406 A.D.

In the great secular and ecclesiastical issues that swirled about the capital, Sozomen was always on the orthodox and usually on the conservative side. He has less appreciation of pagan literature, for example, than Socrates and "rather sides with the monks in their contempt for classic studies", says C.D. Hartranft (citing l. 12). He glories in the missionary extension of the church, but is rather anti-foreign in his politics, agreeing with those who protested the employment of Goths and Persians in state service. He opposes the acceptance of pagans and Arians into political positions. (C.D. Hartranft, in his introduction, p. 197, Ante-Nicene & Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, vol. II)

Only his Ecclesiastical History, a continuation of Eusebius, survives, although he also wrote an earlier shorter two-books summary of the period covered by earlier historians (Eusebius, Africanus, Clemens and Hegeppus). Written in 443, or so, it covers a slightly shorter range than the History of Socrates. Socrates writes of the period from 306 to 439 A.D., whereas Sozomen covers from 323 to 425 A.D. (though he states that his history will go up to 439. Some think he died before his last and ninth book could be completed.

He seems to have had six main purposes in writing his History:

1. To find and write the real facts of the history of the church.
2. To prove the divine source of Christianity as established and prospered by God himself. This leads him to emphasize miracles and divine appearances and visions as proofs of God's direct part in the victory of the church. It also leads him to emphasize the rewards of the faithful and the punishment of the wicked, and to overlook for the most part the successes of the heretics and the trials of the good.
3. To demonstrate the truth of Catholic orthodoxy (i. l), and of the great creeds of Nicaea and of ~~Constantinople~~ Constantinople (381 A.D.), that is, the original Nicene Creed, and the more moderate Nicaeno-

Constantinopolitan Creed, which is today usually called, loosely, "the Nicene Creed". As a layman, however, he is not as harsh in his condemnation of heretics as were the bishops who also wrote church histories, such as Eusebius and Theodoret, or the later lay-historian Evagrius. "The most charitable of historians, next to Socrates," he has been called. (Ibid, p. 206) Many of the heresies of his times he blames on "the private animosities of the clergy" (vi. 26)

4. To trace the history of the church even beyond the borders of Rome "among the Persians and barbarians" (i.1). Better than Eusebius or Socrates he records the missionary expansion of the faith, and describes the church as a universal church for all the world. He records in detail the persecutions in Persia, ~~and~~ (ii. 8-15); the spread through Asia (ii. 6-7); and to Africa through the ministry of Frumentius (though he calls Ethiopia by the name of India) (ii.24); the existence of a chapel in Edessa named for St. Thomas (vi. 18); the faith of the Scythians (vi. 21); Syrian and Persian monasticism (vi. 33-34); Ulfilas and the conversion of the Goths, and their Arianism (vi. 37); the beginnings of Christianity among the Arabs or Saracens (vi. 38). His notice of the methods of church extension include the witness of Christian captives, miracles, the legal suppression of paganism, the high moral example of the monks, theological argument. "Soldiers were not necessary," he says, to abolish idolatry and to spread the faith under Constantine. (ii. 5).

5. To emphasize the importance of monasticism as a Christian ideal. (i.1)

6. To trace, as a lawyer, the development of imperial legislation concerning religion and the church. This makes Sozomen an important source on the relation between church and state. In this connection, he approves freedom of religion for orthodox Christians, but not for pagans and heretics.

Sozomen's History is written in nine books:

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| Books | 1 and 2: | Constantine (323-337 A.D.) |
| | 3 and 4: | Constantine's sons (337-361) |
| | 5 and 6: | Julian, Jovian, Valentinian I, Valens (361-375) |
| | 7 and 8: | Gratian and Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius (and Honorius) (375-408) |
| | 9 | : Honorius (and the Sack of Rome by Alaric) to Theodosius II (408-425) |

THEODORET

(ca. 393 - ca. 453)

Of the three Greek historians who wrote sequels to Eusebius (Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret), Theodoret is the best known, not so much for his History, perhaps, but for his wide and varied influence as bishop, theologian, historian, ~~and~~ ecclesiastical controversialist, and Bible commentator.

Theodoret was born in Antioch of a wealthy, land-owning family. By the time he was 23, both his parents died and he inherited all their property, but immediately began to give it away to the poor, and entered a monastery. But when he was about 30 he was called away from the monastery to become bishop of Cyrrhus, a city about half way between Antioch and Edessa. His description of his diocese, on the far frontier of Rome near the Persian Empire's border, is a graphic proof of the amazing growth of the church within only one hundred years of the end of the great persecutions, for in the 1600 square miles over which he had jurisdiction there were at least 800 churches in addition to numerous monasteries, hospitals and hundreds of hermits, not counting large colonies of heretical Christians, like the Nestorians.

His numerous writings fall into five categories:

1. Exegetical. His greatest lasting fame is as a Bible commentator. He knew Greek, Syriac and Hebrew, and his exegesis of Scripture follows the "common-sense literalism" of his teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia, rather than the allegorism of Origen.

2. Controversial. Theodoret took a vigorous part in the great theological debates against heresy that led to the compromise of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. He defended the Antiochene position (Christ has two natures, stressing His humanity) against Cyril of Alexandria (Christ is one person, stressing his deity). He also wrote against the Eutychian heresy (denying the difference between the two natures), and very strongly against Nestorius.

3. Theological. He wrote two eloquent defenses of Christianity as compared with Greek philosophy.

4. Letters. The large collection of his letters is an invaluable repository of the history of his times.

5. Historical. His two works in the field of church history are:

a. The Ecclesiastical History, in five books, intended as a continuation of the History by Eusebius, was written probably independent of the similar works by Sozomen and Socrates. Theodoret uses more original documents than the other two, but is weak on dates. It contains the famous dying words of Julian the Apostate, "Thou hast conquered, O Galileean".

b. The Religious History is a much inferior collection of the lives of thirty famous hermits, full of strange miracles like other apocryphal writings of the times.

EVAGRIUS

(c. 536-c. 594)

Evagrius was the last of the eastern historians writing in the tradition of Eusebius, and his Ecclesiastical History was intended as a continuation of Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret.

Evagrius was born in 536 or 537 A.D. in Syria, in Epiphania, a city on the Orontes River between Antioch and Beirut, but early moved to Antioch where he practiced law. He was a close associate and assistant of Gregory, bishop of Antioch, in the troubled days when Chosroes I of Persia was defeating the Eastern Romans in Asia.

His only surviving work is the Ecclesiastical History, written in six books which cover a period of 163 years, from the Council of Ephesus in 431 to the 12th year of the Emperor Maurice Tiberius, 594 A.D. The History makes good use of an extensive number of sources (Eustathius the Syrian, Zosimus, Priscus, Joannes Rhetor, Procopius of Caesarea, Agathus, etc.), and preserves some important decrees and letters of the periods. It is especially valuable in its defense of the Emperor Constantine against the criticisms of Zosimus, in its spirited account of the Council of Chalcedon, its valuable but prejudiced account of the Nestorian and Eutychian ~~account~~ heresies, and its record of the reign of Justinian, that "turning point in the history of the Eastern Roman Empire".

Evagrius was warm, Catholic and orthodox. His is a prejudiced view of Nestorianism--"an injudicious zealot" he has been called on that score (by Jortin)--but it must be remembered that he writes as a lawyer not a theologian, so his analysis of heresies represents the popular, not the technical, theological viewpoint. Like all the historians of the period, he gives undue credence to the miracle stories about the saints and hermits.

The ~~the~~ best English text is by J. B. Bury, in Byzantine Texts, London, 1849.

(Dictionary of Christian Biography,
ed. by Wace & Piercy)

PALLADIUS

(c. 367-431 A.D.)

The Historia Lausiaca is usually attributed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, a city of Bithynia on the south coast of the Black Sea just north of the province of Galatia, where he was probably born about the year 367. The authorship of the book, however, is in some dispute. It was ~~at least~~ written about 420 A.D. and takes its name from Lausus, the chief chamberlain of the imperial household in Constantinople to whom it is dedicated.

At the age of 20 Palladius gave up the world to become a wandering, ascetic monk first perhaps near Jericho in the desert or briefly at Bethlehem with Jerome and finally in the deep and frightful desert monastery known as the Cells in upper Egypt. As a world-renouncing monk, Palladius was attracted to the anti-materialist, spiritualizing theology and hermeneutics of Origen. When ill health forced him to leave the desert for the better climate of Palestine and thence to Bithynia, he was asked by Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople to accept the bishopric of Helenopolis. This was probably about 399 A.D.. He had been for nine years in the Cells.

About the year 404 A.D., Palladius found himself involved on the side of Chrysostom in the persecutions which that patriarch suffered for the rest of his life. Palladius, like Chrysostom, was unjustly accused of Origenism by ~~the~~ heresy hunters like Epiphanius, the saintly but narrow-minded Cyprian bishop who claimed to have read 6000 of Origen's works--"a much larger number than Origen ever wrote" remarks Rufinus. Chrysostom's lack of tact in denouncing luxuries alienated the court at Constantinople, and his power as bishop of Constantinople aroused the envy and enmity of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who attacked him ecclesiastically. The primary historical source on the important patriarchate of Chrysostom and his trials is the Dialogue with Theodore the Deacon which is generally attributed to Palladius.

Banished from Constantinople during the persecutions of Chrysostom, Palladius went to Rome to defend his friend before Pope Innocent I who received him well. But on his return to the east, he was banished to the far borders of Egypt, perhaps for as long as seven years, to 412 A.D., after which he may have spent three years in a monastery on the Mount of Olives. When the peace of the church was restored in 417 A.D. he at last returned to his bishopric in Helenopolis, and was soon transferred to the bishopric of Aspuna in Galatia, where he died about 431 A.D.

Two of his works are important historical sources:

- 1) The Dialogue with Theodore the Deacon, though written as a fictitious report of a conversation in 408, is clearly an eye-witness record of the controversies by Chrysostom's friend. (Duchesne, iii. p. 51)
- 2) The Lausiaca History is equally important as an honest but credulous account of 5th century ascetic monasticism, and a faithful picture of the tone of popular religious thought of that day--an important source on the history of early monasticism, with biographical detail.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS
(365-425 A.D.)

Sulpicius Severus has been called the "best historical writer of the fifth century" (J. W. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing. N.Y., 1942, vol. I, p. 134). He was a Gaul, born of a noble family in Aquitaine, sometime after 353 A.D., probably around 365. He became a lawyer, and married a high-ranking and wealthy woman who, however, soon died. After her death, and influenced by St. Martin of Tours, he withdrew from the world and devoted himself to ascetic meditation and writing. His angry father promptly disinherited him. (The principal authorities for his life are a short biography in de Viris Illustribus by Gennadius of Marseilles, published about 492 A.D., and the letters of his friend Paulinus of Nola).

He left three important works:

- (1) Life of St. Martin of Tours. This work, published shortly before St. Martin died in 397, was one of the earliest and most famous examples of a literary type peculiar to the middle ages, the lives of the saints. It was the "best-seller" of the fifth century from France to Egypt. More important, it was based on personal interviews with St. Martin and contains practically "everything that is authentic about that popular saint of Western Christendom" who did so much to bring monasticism into Europe. It is also a valuable measure of the religious emotionalism and violent anti-paganism of the times.
- (2) Historia Sacra, or Chronica (in two books). Written in 403 A.D., this work fuses Biblical and classical history from creation down to the consulship of Stilicho in 400 A.D. His sources are the Septuagint, the Chronicles of Eusebius, and pagan historians. Its elegant, easy Latin has earned him the title of "the Christian Sallust". Book I and part of Book II covers the history of the world to the birth of Christ. He omits the New Testament period (gospels and Acts), but carries on the record from the siege of Jerusalem, and the persecutions under nine Roman Emperors. His account of the Arian controversy is inaccurate, but he is a valuable ~~source~~ contemporary source on the Priscillianist heresy (a kind of 4th c. Spanish "gnosticism", whose leader, Priscillian, was the first heretic sent to the scaffold by the church). He was a discriminating, constructive historian, stressing as no other had done before him the continuity of history, preferring rightly Tacitus' account of the siege of Jerusalem to that of the more prejudiced Josephus, and unlike others of his age rejecting unbelievable miracles and strained allegories. For example, he rejected the belief that the ten ~~per~~ plagues of Egypt (Exodus 7-11) were types of the "ten great persecutions" of Christians by Rome. In fact, he said, no real historian could find ten persecutions without straining for a parallel. (Chron. I,1,3,7) "To him, sanctity was not manifested in miracles, but in strength of character" (Thompson, p. 135). The one blemish on his record was his intolerance of Jews. "Sulpicius Severus is the first anti-Semite of the Middle Ages", says Thompson (Ibid).
- (3) Dialogi. Written in 405 A.D., the three Dialogues relate a debate with a friend comparing the famous hermits and monks of the east with St. Martin. It is important as a real account of a pilgrimage to the east about 400 B.C., but is more credulous of miracles than the History.

AUGUSTINE

(354-430 A.D.)

It is as true of church history as of secular history that great ~~events~~ changes in the course of human events signal changes in the interpretations of history. At such times the underlying, and often unacknowledged, philosophy of history becomes even more important to the historian than the recording of history. Augustine stands at one of those decisive turning points. His City of God, therefore, though not in itself a history, has become what is probably the most influential single book ever written in the field of church history. As G. G. Coulton of Cambridge has said, "It is the first attempt in all literature to formulate a philosophy of history" ("Is a Science of History Possible", in Christianity and History: vol. XVIII of The Modern Churchman, Sep.-Nov. 1928, p. 315)

The turning point that produced the philosophy was the fall of Rome. Rome fell four times, actually, in less than 150 years: to Alaric the Goth on Aug. 24, 410; to Gaiseric the Vandal in 455; to Ricimer the German in 472; and to Totila the Ostrogoth in 546. But it was the first fall in 410 that shook the world and led Augustine to undertake a new explanation of the relationship of Christianity to history. Here is how he himself describes his reason for writing his masterpiece (in his Retractations, ii, 43):

"Rome having been stormed and sacked by the Goths under Alaric their king, the worshippers of false gods, or pagans, as we commonly call them, made an attempt to attribute this calamity to the Christian religion, and began to blaspheme the true God with even more than their wonted bitterness and acerbity. It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the city of God against the charges and misrepresentations of its assailants."

Augustine did more than simply refute the charge that Rome fell because it forsook the old gods and turned Christian. His book changed the viewpoint of writers of church history for the next 1000 years. The first hundred years of the writing of church history,-- from 324 to 426 A.D.--are stamped with the mark of Eusebius, the father of church history. He, and those who followed him, tied the history and fortunes of the church to the history of the Christian state, converted Rome. When Rome fell, that position became untenable. It was Augustine who found firmer ground for a Christian philosophy of history in the view that God's ruling providence in history is centered not in the state (the city of earth) which may fall, but in His church (the City of God) which endures forever.

The lives of few famous men are known in more intimate detail than that of Augustine whose autobiography, the Confessions (written about 400), is the record of his spiritual life up to his

conversion, when he was 33 years old; and whose career as churchman and theologian is clearly written in a contemporary biography by his pupil and friend Possidius, bishop of Calamis. The story of his life is too well known to need retelling: born in 354 in North Africa; at 16 sent to university in Carthage; at 19 he leaves the study of law to seek for truth, first in Manicheism for nine years, then under the influence of Ambrose he was led from Manicheism into philosophy for three years, and finally converted, (386), and baptized (387). He returned to Africa and became priest (391) and then bishop of Hippo (395).

Augustine was the most influential Christian in church history, as churchman and theologian, between Paul and the Reformation. His theology was moulded by his struggle against three great heresies: Manichaeism, Donatism and Pelagianism. Against Manichaeism he taught that God alone is supreme creator and that evil is only secondary and privative (that is, the absence of some good that ought to be). Against the Donatists, who were puritan, African nationalist schismatics contending that those who had compromised with emperor-worship could never be forgiven and readmitted to the ministry, Augustine defended the unity of the church and its holiness as coming from God not from the purity of its members, and accepted the aid of the state in punishing heresy. Against the Pelagians who emphasized man's role in salvation, Augustine developed his important teachings on original sin and the inability of man as compared with the irresistible grace of God in predestination. There are two sides to Augustine in these controversies. Against the Donatists he is strongly Catholic; against the Pelagians he is thoroughly evangelical and almost Protestant.

But it is the philosophy of history which he developed in The City of God which most concerns us in the study of church history. He worked on it for thirteen years, from his 59th to his 72nd years. It is divided into two parts: the first ten books negative, and the second ^{twelve} ~~ten~~ constructive in their argument. Books 1 to 5 refute the pagan superstition that earthly prosperity is tied to the worship of the heathen gods. Books 5 to 10 combat the Neo-platonist belief that though even the worship of the gods does not necessarily avert misfortune from believers in this life, the gods must be worshiped for the happiness they will give in the next life. Then in the second portion Augustine develops his great master-thought and pattern of history as the story of two cities (or kingdoms), the city of God which will last forever, and the city of this world which falls as empires rise and fall.

In Books 11 to 14 he describes the origin of the two kingdoms in the creation of angels and the fall of the rebellious angels; Books 15 to 18 describes the development and progress of the two cities; and in Books 19 to 22 he sums up the whole history in its final end--the punishment of sin and the reward of righteousness.

The concept is not entirely original (it can be traced to Tyconius), and the work has many small faults, such as the fiction that peacock meat never rots (xxi, 4, 7), or that the under-side of this

world must be uninhabited because people there would have to walk upside down, and besides the apostles did not go there to preach which they would certainly have done in obedience to the command of the Lord had there been any people there. (Bainton, Christendom, I, p. 123). But his reconciliation of human, historic catastrophes with the love and power of God is the definitive Christian answer, as the prophets are the Jewish answer, to the sufferings in this world of God's people.

The earthly city began with the fall of the angels; continues with the fall of man and the rise of the great world-empires. The heavenly city begins with creation and continues through Noah, Abraham, Israel, Christ and the church. One is rooted in love of God; the other in love of self. But it oversimplifies Augustine to make an absolute separation of the two. This ~~was~~ a later suggestion of Gregory the Great who saw the church as being naturally at enmity with the state, perhaps because of the incompetence of the ~~emper~~or in Constantinople and the exarchy in Italy in his time. (Foakes Jackson, Hist of Ch. Hist., p. 94) In Augustine the relationship is more complex and more realistic. After all, the Roman empire was already Christian and could not be condemned as altogether evil, and the church on earth, like the field in the parable (Matt. 13), is obviously not perfect but a mixture of wheat and tares. The relationship between the two is not absolute separation or complete enmity, but of difference and tension and of mutual interpenetration and need one of the other. In its earthly visible existence the church borrows the form of the earthly state (xv. 2) and needs the protection of its law (xix. 17) which the churchman as well as the heathen must obey. But on the other hand, the state can never have even an earthly peace without recognition of the higher law of the city of God.

Though the inter-relations of church and state are never entirely clarified in The City of God, one thing is very sure: when at the Judgment the two are finally separated, it is the city of earth which disappears, and the city of God which remains. In this work, Augustine, less Catholic and more Protestant, stresses the "invisible church", the true community of Christians who though found within the body of the institutionalized "visible church" are more truly united to God in the invisible kingdom of God on earth whose aim and object is directed not to this life but the life to come. (I. 35; xv. 4).

CASSIODORUS
(c. 485-c. 580)

What Rufinus did for Eusebius, translating him into Latin and transmitting his History to the Middle Ages, Cassiodorus did in his Tripartite Ecclesiastical History for the three Greek historians who followed Eusebius: Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. In his case, however, another author, Epiphanius, did the Latin translation and Cassiodorus wove the three histories into one continuous narrative. Rufinus, supplemented by Cassiodorus's sequel, became the most widely used church histories of the Middle Ages.

Senator Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus was a Roman nobleman who served the Western Empire under its first barbarian ruler, Odoacer the German (Herulian), and especially under Theodoric the Ostrogoth. A top-ranking diplomat (quaestor in 507, consul in 514, chief of the civil service ^(prime minister) by 526, and praetorian prefect in 533), his ambition was to reconcile the conquering Goths and the surviving Romans in the age of the sixth century which saw "the last flicker of Roman civilization" in the west. (Wace & Piercy, Dict. of Christian Biography)

When the barbarians were briefly subjugated and the Roman Empire for a short time reunited under Justinian, Cassiodorus retired from public life (about 540 A.D.) and turned monk, founding two monasteries at Vivarium. One was of the traditional type for hermits. But the other was far more important. He made it into a kind of academy, endowed it with his own large Roman library, encouraged the study of secular and classical subjects as well as theological, especially the copying of manuscripts, "and thereby established the monastic tradition of scholarship that preserved the classical culture of Europe during the dark ages". (F.L. Cross, ed., Oxford Dict. of the Christian Church). He was still writing when he was 93.

Besides his Tripartite History, which is not an original work but a compilation, he is the author of twelve Books of Varieties which contain letters, Imperial edicts and decrees of the sixth century, the most important single source of Italian history for that period. He also wrote extensively on theological and literary subjects, and a History of the Goths which is lost, but of which a summary survives.

(Note on the end of the Western Roman Empire: From 395 to 493 Rome was formally divided into a western and eastern half. In the west, Roman resistance to the barbarian invasions broke down completely and Italy was occupied by the Germanic invaders. The formal end of the Western Empire is usually considered to be in 476 A.D. when Odoacer forced the abdication of Romulus Augustulus, last of the Roman Emperors. In 488 Theodoric defeated Odoacer and ruled Italy as King of the Ostrogoths (493-526), recognized as such by the Eastern Emperor.)

The Early Mediaeval Period

5th to 8th c.

Augustine, as we have noted, marks a turning point in the writing of church history. With the triumph of the barbarians, the fall of Rome, and the rise of the church, pagan history disappears in the fifth century. The last pagan historian was Zosimus, whose History of Rome to 410 A.D. blames the fall of the Empire on Christianity. (Thompson, p. 296). But from the 5th to the 8th centuries the writing of history was almost exclusively in the hands of Christians, mostly clerics in the West, but laymen in the East, at least up to 600 A.D. And history was dominated by Christians clear on into the 13th century.

The period begins with the barbarian invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the West the empire lost its unity to separate Germanic kingdoms in Spain (the Visigoths), Gaul (the Franks), Italy (the Ostrogoths and Lombards), Africa (the Vandals) and England (the Angles and Saxons). But in the East, Byzantine Rome preserved its empire around Constantinople for another thousand years.

In the compilation of chronicles of church history, that is, the plain chronological record without interpretation, the pattern in this period is still the great Chronicle of Eusebius (to be distinguished from his Ecclesiastical History). Rufinus and Jerome had translated Eusebius' Chronicle into Latin, adding considerable material on the church in the West, and extending the record from 324 A.D. (where Eusebius had ended) to 378 A.D. Upon Jerome's extension of the record, other later historians kept adding to the record. Idatius, a bishop in Spain, recorded the years 379 to 468; his work is the best record available of Visigothic history in Spain. In Gaul, Prosper of Aquitaine continued Jerome's version down to the year 455; and Marius of Avenches (Lausanne) extended Prosper's record to 581. In the East, Marcellinus, prime minister under the Emperor Justinian added 150 years to Jerome's chronicle, for the period 379-534, though his judgment of history is rather unbalanced. For example, he gives four lines to Alaric's capture of Rome in 410, but fifty-four lines to the alleged discovery of the head of John the Baptist! Victor, bishop of Tunis, continued Jerome to 566 A.D., giving detailed attention to events in Africa, which makes his record a principal source for the history of the Vandals. And in Spain, John of Biclaro wrote a supplement to Victor and Idatius carrying the story down to the years 567 to 590. The series ends with the additions of Cassiodorus in Italy (to 519), Isidore of Seville in Spain (to 627) and Bede in England (to 726). In the eighth century, says Thompson, the series merged into the monastic chronicles of the Carolingian renaissance when Charlemagne, taking his cue from the English monastic records, required every monastery to keep an annual record of the history of the year. Perhaps the most important of these are the Annals of the Monastery of Lorsch (Annales Laurisenses which cover the years 741-829). (J. W. Thompson, History of Historical Writing, vol. 1, pp. 129 f., 165 f.)

Since the secular and church history of the Empire after Constantine, and particularly after the decline of Rome in the West, are inextricably interwoven, much church history is written by ~~the~~

priests who attempted to write general histories of the times.

Victor Vitensis, a bishop in the province of Byzacena in Africa at the time of the Vandal invasion wrote three books of history covering the years 429-484, entitled History of the Persecution of the Province of Africa by Gaiseric and Huneric, Kings of the Vandals. It is the only contemporary source of Vandal history outside Possidius's Life of St. Augustine. In Italy, Cassiodorus was the best historian of Gothic-Roman relations in addition to his contributions to church history in his translations of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. The loss of his twelve books of Gothic History has been called "one of the most grievous in early mediaeval historiography" (Thompson, p. 147). Isidore of Seville (d. 636) should also be mentioned but though he is an outstanding scholar and churchman, head of the church in Spain from 603 to 636 as archbishop of Seville, his Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum is most unsatisfactory. The only really great history of the times, "the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography" is Gregory of Tours, History of the Kings of the Franks, about which we shall speak separately. But there is one other notable work, the rather crude Gothic History of Jordanes, who about 550 A.D. published it as a condensation of the twelve books of Cassiodorus, and ~~isidore~~ became the first writer to relate the history of the German migrations, and the Catholic attempt to convert the heretically Arian invaders.

After the death of Gregory of Tours in 594, the history of church history--in fact of all historical and literary writing--falls upon bad days. "Intellectually," says W. G. Thompson, "the seventh century was the darkest age in Western Europe" A new light breaks over that dark continent only with the coming of the English missionaries, Willibrord, Willibald and Boniface, and the new spiritual and intellectual renaissance of the eighth century. In the field of church history, by far the greatest single book of the age is Bede's Ecclesiastical History, "the greatest history written in the barbarian epoch", especially important for the years 597 to 731. But this, too, we shall consider separately.

Christian writing from the 4th to the 7th century developed another important type of historiography: the Vitae sanctorum, or Lives of the Saints. The first great example of this class in the West was Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin, and the type was continued and further popularized by Pope Gregory the Great's Life of St. Benedict. The most important collection of these saints' Lives for modern readers is the Acta Sanctorum begun by Johannes Bollandus in Antwerp in 1643, which is still being printed and added to with 68 volumes published so far. The index is in vol. 62. It is supplemented by the journal Analecta Bollandiana (published from 1882 on). (See Cambridge Mediaeval History, VI, p. 850).

These lives, though written primarily for homiletic and devotional purposes, unexpectedly prove to be of unique historical value in that they record the daily life of the average people of the times, whereas regular history, as such, was almost exclusively devoted to the lives of the high and powerful. As Thompson writes, "Our knowledge of the family and social life of the lower classes in the mediaeval period would be almost a blank if it were not for the lives of the saints." (p. 153)

For example, Eugippius' Life of St. Severinus is the only record we have of conditions along the lower Danube after the fall of the Huns. The history of trade and commerce, as well as of the church, is made clearer by the lives of the Celtic missionaries, St. Patrick in Ireland and St. Columba in Scotland, and of the Saxon missionary Ansgar in Denmark. Two lives of St. Patrick are contained in "the most valuable record of early Irish history, the Book of Armagh which was written in Latin and copied by a scribe in 807 A.D. (Thompson, p. 158) The Life of Columba by Adamnan is even more important ~~in~~ in church history, because, though it sheds little light on Columba's great missionary work as the "apostle to Scotland", it gives a most valuable contemporary picture of pre-Roman Catholic, Celtic Christianity in Ireland and Scotland. Columba was an Irish prince at a time when the Irish clans were organized as much religiously as politically in monastic cadres. Born in 521, he died in 597, and his biographer, Adamnan, as abbot of the monastery on Iona which Columba founded for 25 years, from 679 to 704, had first hand information about the saint. The Life is full of strange prophecies (Book I) and miracles (Book II) and apparitions of angels (Book III), but is nevertheless historically invaluable.

Besides the biographies, Irish historiography, both ecclesiastical and secular, begins about the 7th c. with a continuation of the old Eusebian Chronicle (Jerome's translation and the sequel by Prosper of Aquitaine). At first only a column of Irish events was added, then this was expanded into continuous annals, ~~which~~ and formed the basis of the Annals of Tigernach, and the Annals of Ulster, etc. (Thompson, p. 159 f.)

In England, the various monastic annals of this kind were finally combined, in the 9th c. into the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the oldest historical work in the German tongue" and "the supreme example of Old English prose." It carries the story of the nation, with particular emphasis on the church, from the 7th century through the Norman Conquest and on up to the year 1154. (Thompson, p. 160 f.)

GREGORY OF TOURS

(538-594 A.D.)

Gregory of Tours (his real name was Georgius Florentius) has been called the greatest historian of the Latin West, except for Bede, between Ammianus Marcellinus, (the 4th c. friend of the Emperor Julian and author of the last history of Rome) and the renaissance of civilization under Charlemagne at the end of the 8th century. (Thompson, Hist. of Historical Writing, p. 148). He is the author of the History of the Kings of the Franks, the only source we have of the early history of the Franks and of the conversion of the Frankish nation.

He was born into a highly aristocratic Roman family in Gaul, numbering senators, bishops, counts and a duke among his ancestors and relatives. As a boy sick with fever, he vowed to dedicate his life to the ministry if he recovered, and was ordained a deacon when he was 25, and made bishop by popular demand when he was 30, in 573 A.D.

Gregory was a great bishop, defending the rights of the church and the oppressed in the midst of terrible civil war in Gaul and against barbaric injustices of the Merovingian kings, the sons and grandsons of Clovis, founder of the kingdom, which was to be the most enduring of all the barbarian states built upon the ruins of Rome. It is the story of the beginning of this nation which Gregory, in his rough Latin and vigorous style tells. Though a Roman Gaul, he seems to bear no malice against the Germanic Franks who had conquered the land only fifty years or so before he was born. As a Christian, he is proud of the conversion of the invading Franks, but as a historian he shows them exactly as they were--cruel, violent, often half-pagan.

J.W. Thompson says of Gregory: "He is one of the most interesting and one of the most genuine of all medieval historians, with the naivete of a child, the simplicity and charity of a saint, and the loyalty of a hero to his rights and his ideals. He is the first really medieval man, together with Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636). (Hist. of His. Writing, p. 149)

Gregory wrote other books--Miracles of St. Martin; Gloria Martyrum; Gloria Confessorum, and Vitae Patrum--but it is the History of the Franks for which he is remembered. It is "the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography" (Ibid, p. 148). It consists of ten books:

Book I - extends from creation to the death of St. Martin of Tours in 397, and quotes largely from Eusebius, Jerome and Orosius.

Book II - carries the history to the death of Clovis in 511, with a history of the Frankish conquests, partly based on Renatus Frigidarius and Sulpicius Alexander, fifth c. historians whose works are lost.

Book III - extends to the death of Theodebert I, king of Austrasia in 547, and from here to the end the book is based on first-hand oral tradition and authorities.

Book IV - to the death of Sigebert of Austrasia in 575

Book V - the first five years of Childebert II (575-580)

Book VI - to the death of Childebert in 584

- Book VII - the year 585
- Book VIII - outside events, reported only at second-hand.
- Book IX - the years 587-589
- Book X - the years 589-591

The best English edition of the History is that by O. M. Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours (Oxford, 1927, 2 v.), of which volume I is a very complete introduction on the life of Gregory and the civilization of Frankish Gaul; and vol. II is the English translation of the History.

The great value of the History is its remarkably detailed picture of turbulent Gaul in the sixth century in the first generations after the conversion of its barbarian conquerors, under Clovis, first King of the Franks. The conversion of Clovis in 496 A.D. was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. The Franks (ancestors of the French) were a tribe of German barbarians moving like a scourge of locusts into Roman Gaul as the power of Rome declined. Clovis (466-511) became King of the Eastern Franks when he was sixteen, a young and savage chief fighting against other German tribes on the north and against Rome on the south. But in 493 he married a Christian princess from Burgundy, Chlotilda. A few years later, in a tribal war, he was almost defeated and thought he was about to die. He cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda praises as the Son of the living God" help me. If you do, I will believe and be baptized. Almost at that very moment the enemy king fell in the battle and his troops panicked and fled. Clovis kept his promise. He came home and told his queen he was not only ready to become a Christian himself but would also make 5000 of his ~~troops~~ troops turn Christian with him.

The question comes, as Gregory tells the history not only of the conversion, but of the life of Clovis and his sons after conversion, How real was the conversion? He was probably the most wicked Christian king in history, butchering his own family, looting towns, massacring whole villages. (F. J. Foakes Jackson, Hist. of Church History, p. 101) And as one historian has observed, "His blackest deeds were done after his baptism" (Rettberg, quoted in T. S. Smith, Mediaeval Missions, p. 23)

Gregory of Tours, with his naive emphasis on saints' miracles, his honest picture of the brutality of Christian kings and the corruption of some Christian priests and bishops, his courage in defense of the faith against pagan violence and misunderstandings, leaves us with an unforgettable glimpse of northern Europe as it really was in the crisis of its conquest and conversion: still a pagan land with only a veneer of Christianity, but with enough saints and honest bishops to suggest that the victory will be with the Christian faith. The fact remains ~~that~~ that as the baptism of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and for centuries toward ~~the~~ Christianity, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years.

- H. Wace & W.C. Piercy, A Dictionary of Christian Biography & Literature. London, 1911
- J. W. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, vol. I. N.Y., 1942
- F. J. Foakes Jackson, A History of Church History, Cambridge, 1939

HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Outline, for the Second Semester

Asian Church History

Syrian Period (100-226 A.D.)

Tatian, Address to the Greeks
The Acts of Thomas
Bardaisan, Dialogue on Fate
Odes and Psalms of Solomon
The Doctrine of Addai
The History of Mshika-Zkha
Acta Sancta Maris....

Persian Period (226-642 A.D.)

J. R. Chabot, ed. Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de
Synodes Nestoriens..410 A.D. to 790 A.D.

Statutes of the School of Nisibis, ed. A. Voobus
Homilies of Jacob (James) of Nisibis.

Ephraem Syrus, Carmen Nisibana

Joshua Stylites, A Hist. of the Time of Affliction at Edessa...
Simeon of Beth Ashram

The Book of the Himyarites, ed. A. Moberg

The Book of Consolations or The Pastoral Epistles of Mar Ishoya

Zachariah of Mitylene, Ecclesiastical History

James of Edessa, Chronicle

Chronicon Edessenum

John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History

Arab Period (642-1258 A.D.)

Thomas of Marga, The Book of Governors: Historia Monastica

Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria,
(the Liber Turris of Mari and Amr), ed. Gismondi.

Elias Bar Shinaya, Chronographia

Michael the Syrian, Chronicle

Bar Hebraeus, Chronography

SOURCES OF ASIAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Early Period (100 to 226 A.D.)

There is a great scarcity of materials available for the study of the early Syrian period of Asian Christianity centered around Edessa and Arbela. I use the term "Asian" to refer to the churches that rose outside the Roman Empire, i.e. beyond Jerusalem, Antioch and Armenia which were all politically and culturally Roman. This first period of Asian church history (100 to 226 A.D.) may be called the Syrian (or Edessa-Arbela) period.

The principal primary sources include two works from the first two Asian theologians, that radically dissimilar pair, Tatian the ascetic, and Bardaisan the hedonist. Tatian's Address to the Greeks establishes the distinctively Asian character of Syrian Christianity outside the Roman Empire and recapitulates all the ways in which Asia (or the non-Greek world) excels the west. But Tatian is also unbiblically ascetic, renouncing meat, wine and even marriage. His only surviving work is found in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graece, VI, as Oratio adversus graecos, and an English translation, Address to the Greeks, by J. E. Ryland is in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A. C. Coxe, vol. 2 (N.Y. 1903), pp. 59-83.

Bardaisan also has only one surviving work, The Dialogue on Fate, a treatise which is valuable for proving the intellectual originality of the Edessene theological tradition but which is dangerously flawed by heresies ranging from gnostic-like astrology to a syncretistic adaptation of the faith to accommodate everything from Persian magic to Greek philosophy. He may indeed have been, as Burkitt calls him, "the only original thinker which the Syrian church produced" but it is difficult to take seriously such theological fantasies as his teaching that out of the Holy Ghost, the Mother, came two daughters, the earth and the sea; and out of the sexual union of the Father and the Mother came Christ, the Son of Life. The best text of the Dialogue is H. J. W. Drijvers, The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan (Semitic texts with translations, III. Assen, 1965). It should be noted that the Dialogue is sometimes ascribed to a disciple of Bardaisan named Philip.

Because of the scarcity of materials, the study of the period must begin with these two theological works rather than historical works. The only works purporting to be contemporary histories are of somewhat dubious authenticity. The most important is The Acts of Thomas, which, although it is more of a "missionary romance" than sober church history, at least throws light on what the early Syrian Christians believed about their origins. It dates, probably, from the early third century, and records the tradition of the mission of St. Thomas to India. The best text is A. F. J. Klijn, The Acts of Thomas: Introduction--Text--Commentary (Leiden, 1962).

The Acts of Thomas is important not so much for the fanciful details of the legendary mission of the apostle to India as for the information it sheds on the third-century Christianity of Edessa, where it was probably written. The traditional history of that Edessene church is found in a later work, the fourth-century Doctrine of Addai, which gives in greater detail the ~~legendary~~ story of the founding of the church under King Abgar of Osrhoene, as described in Eusebius. The account is legend, but it contains the seeds of history. The text is found in The Doctrine of Addai, in William Cureton's Ancient Syriac Documents (London, 1864, reprinted in Taiwan in 1967).

Some historians believe that the church in Arbela, four hundred miles east of Edessa, may have been even older than that of Edessa. The traditional history of the beginnings of Christianity in Arbela, which became the missionary nerve-center of Nestorian ~~mission~~ expansion across Asia as far as China, is found in a sixth-century work, the History of Msiha-Zkha, translated by A. Mingana in Sources Syriacae (Leipzig, 1908, pp. 1-168), and also found in a German translation by C. D. Sachau, who calls it Chronik von Arbela in his Abhandlungen der preuss Akademie der Wissenschaft (Berlin, 1915).

A different version of the Arbela tradition is found in the Acts of Mari, which dates to about the same period. In the Msiha Zkha Chronicle of Arbela the first missionary is Addai; in the Acts of Mari the pioneer in the evangelization of Persia is Mari. The text is in Acta Sancta Maris, Assyriae, Babyloniae ac Persidis seculo I Apostoli., edited by J. B. Abbeloos in Analecta Bollandiana, tom. IV (Brussels, 1885).

II. The Persian Period (226-642 A.D.)

The second period in Asian church history is the Persian period. It could also be called the Sassanian period, for it covers the years of the Sassanid dynasty from 226 A.D., (when that strongly Asiatic line of kings overthrew the racially Persian but culturally Greek Parthian dynasty) to 642 A.D., when the Sassanians fell to the conquering Mohammedan Arabs. It was an era of religious conflicts for the church, persecuted as it was under the Zoroastrian state religion. But it was also the period when the Church of the East (later called Nestorian) first organized itself nationally and independently from the church in the West, and when the theological separation of the Nestorians from Catholic and Orthodox Christianity occurred as a result of the Nestorian controversy.

There are no real histories of the Asian church before the fifth century--only traditions, martyrologies and lives of the saints. But much information about the church outside the Roman Empire in Asia can be gleaned from the writings of its outstanding ecclesiastics and theologians.

The most important fourth century writers were Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338), and Ephraem Syrus (d. 373). Jacob of Nisibis was better known in the east by his Persian name of Aphraates. He was the principal theologian of the Persian (Eastern) church in the fourth century, and his surviving work, the Homilies, are a collection of 22 expositions of the Christian faith strikingly independent of the formulations of the Nicene Council, and strongly ascetic in tone. Ephraem Syrus was a junior contemporary of Aphraates and the real founder of the famous School of Theology at Edessa, where he sought to rescue the eastern church from the heresies of Bardaisan. He is said to have written more than three million lines of sermons, Bible commentaries and hymns, and six volumes of his works survive, published in 1732-43 by the Maronite Peter Mobarek (Benedict) and J. S. E. Asseman. A convenient English translation of some is by J. B. Morris, Select Works of Ephraem Syrus (Oxford, 1847).

The martyrologies and historical traditions of the fourth century include the Acta Sanctorum, a martyrology written before 350 A.D. (translated and edited by W. Wright in Journal of Sacred Literature, 1865-66, viii, 45, 423): the Doctrine of Addai (ed. by W. Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa, London, 1864) which, though written in the Persian period relates to the earlier Edessa period; and three other martyrologies which likewise relate to the earlier period: the Hypomnema of Sharbel, and the Martyrdoms of Bar-Samya, Bp. of Edessa and the Deacon Habbibh. The dating and authenticity of all of these are somewhat suspect.

Beginning in the fifth century historical clarity emerges. The most important collection of documents of the whole Persian period is J. B. Chabot, Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens (Paris, Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1902), a compendium in one massive volume (695 pp.) of the acts of the Nestorian Councils from the Synod of Mar Isaac in 410 A.D. to the Synod of Mar Henaniso II in 775 A.D., with appendices up to the Synod of Timothy I in 790 A.D.

Other fifth century sources include an early fifth century Book of Martyrs by Mabutha on the persecutions under Sapor II, Yazdegerd I and Bahram V, which is in the first volume of S. E. Assemani's Acta Sanctorum Martyrum, 1748 (op. cit.). There is a Life of Barsumas by his disciple Samuel, important for its information about this bishop of Nisibis (b. 435, d. 489) who was the chief strength of the Nestorian church during its expulsion from the Roman Empire into Persia and who moved the famed theological school from Edessa to Nisibis. The most famous exile from the School of Edessa was Narses, called by his opponents "Narses the Leper", but by his friends "The Harp of the Holy Spirit", some of whose commentaries, sermons and hymns survive. His discourse "On the Corruption of Morals" is a startling expose of corruption in the church even at that early period which does not even spare his predecessor, Barsumas, from criticism.

One other work should be mentioned as of great importance in understanding the tangled theological controversies and divisions of the times, namely the long-lost work of Nestorius who has given his name, though not very accurately, to the Church of the East. Shortly before his death he wrote an autobiographical account of his life under the name of The Bazaar of Heracleides, in exile in Egypt about 450 A.D. A 12th c. manuscript of the work was discovered by a Syrian priest in 1889, and extensive research has revealed its authorship by Nestorius. The extreme importance of the work is its proof that Nestorius was not quite so "Nestorian" and more orthodox than his opponents gave him credit for. The best edition of the work is G. R. Driver and Leonard Hodgson, Nestorius, The Bazaar of Heracleides, newly translated from the Syriac (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).

CHURCH HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Modern secular historians, who have never dealt kindly with church history in any age, are particularly critical of the ecclesiastical historians of the middle ages. They dismiss ^{them} as child-like, credulous, superstitious, unfactual and always biased. The German historian, Heinrich von Sybel, condemned it thus:

"This period possessed no idea of historical judgment, no sense of historical reality, no trace of critical reflection. The principal of authority, ruling without limitation in the religious domain, defended all tradition, as well as traditional dogma. Men were everywhere more inclined to believe than to examine. No distinction was made between ideal and real, between poetical and historical truth.. Almost no one felt any scruples in giving to existing conditions the sanction of venerable age by means of fabricated history or forged documents..." 1

There can indeed be no defense of the historical methods of a man like Andreas Agnellus, Bishop of Ravenna about 850 A.D. who has been praised even in modern times for his scholarship but who is a particularly flagrant example of "pious falsification" of history. G. G. Coulton of Cambridge, the mediaevalist, quotes his own discription of his methods:

"where I have not found any history of these bishops (he was compiling a series of historical biographies of the bishops of Ravenna), and have not been able by conversation with aged men, or inspection of the monuments, or from any other authentic source, to obtain information concerning them, in such a case, in order ~~to~~ that there might not be a break in the series, I have composed the life myself, with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren". 2

Nevertheless, with all their faults, it is to these monks and bishops of the middle ages that we owe almost all the historical knowledge left us of that confusing period. No one else had the concern or patience or learning to write history. Moreover, they wrote under great difficulties: a decline of civilization, destruction of books and libraries, and extreme geographical and political isolation.

We have already surveyed some of the leading figures in the writing of church history during the transition between the classical period and the middle ages: Cassiodorus (ca. 480- ca. 570), Jordanes (ca. 550), Procopius (ca. 500-565). Cassiodorus not only continued the earlier classical church histories, but wrote of Ostrogothic Rome. Jordanes wrote on the Goths; and Procopius of church in the Byzantine east. Even more important transitional historians were Gregory of Tours (538-594) and his History of the Franks, and the Venerable Bede (672-735) with his Ecclesiastical History of the English People.

Two other works of this period which we did not study last term should be added to the list. The first is History of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon (ca. 730-800) which preserved many sources and was widely read in the Middle Ages, but was poor in chronology.

When Charlemagne invaded Italy and conquered the Lombard kingdom, Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard nobleman, entered the famous Monte Cassino monastery as a deacon. He had already written a Roman History, and was now asked by Charlemagne to write the history of his own people, tracing their Scandinavian ancestry and conquest of Italy before falling to the Franks in the 8th century. His History carries their story down to 744 A.D.

The other outstanding history of the period is a biography, Einhard's Vita Caroli (Life of Charlemagne). It describes the fall of the Merovingian dynasty founded by Clvis, first King of the Franks, and the rise of the Carolingians under Charlemagne's father and grandfather; Charlemagne's conquests of Italy and Germany, culminating on Christmas Day, 800, when he was crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope Leo III, and what is called the Holy Roman Empire began, that complex, shifting coalition of church and state that was to last a thousand years (to 1806). Einhard was a monk from the monastery of Fulda who became the emperor's secretary and knew Charlemagne intimately. He has been called "the most famous historian of the Carolingian renaissance" (Thompson, p. 166)

Another famous biography of the period should also be mentioned, though it was noted in the survey of missionary biographies of the 8th century, last term. It is the Life of Sturmi, abbot of Fulda (d. 779) by Eigil who was one of his successors as abbot (818-822). Sturmi was Boniface's favorite disciple. It is the "best biography of a churchman of Charlemagne's reign". (Ibid, p. 169)

It is in this period that another form of church history becomes exceedingly important: the monastic annals. The most important single series of annals are the Annals of Fulda, which cover the period from 680 to 901, written in Germany. Beginning very simply, often with only a single sentence summary of what was considered the most important event of a year, for example: (from Annals of St. Gall)

"709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died"

by the end of the Middle Ages these had developed into systematic historical writing. At first they were called either Annals or Chronicles, but as they grew in scope and size the title Chronicle usually meant a more detailed and systematic treatment of history.

In England the most famous work of this sort was the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, noted last term, which probably grew out of a combination of several monastic Annals, and finally covered the history of England and its church from the 7th century to the year 1159. It is supplemented and extended by the great collection of monastic annals produced at St. Albans Abbey (20 m. north of London) founded by the Normans in the 11th century. The monks there began to keep their chronicle about the year 1180, and a whole school of monks kept it up down to 1327. The most famous of the St. Albans school of church historians were Roger of Wendover (who brought the record to 1235) and Matthew Paris, who was not only a monk, but a scholar, artist, courtier and man of the world,--"the 13th century editor of the (London) Times," he has been called, (p. 279) and "the ablest historian of mediaeval England. Better than any other historian of the age he freed himself from religious and mythical interests and devoted himself to the story of political developments. He was the incomparable authority on English constitutional developments between the Magna Carta and the rise of Parliament." (Barnes, Hist. of Hist. Writing, p. 72)

Even before the end of the period covered by the chronicles of the St. Albans school, English historical writing which had been pioneered by the monk Gildas (ca. 516-70) in his Book of Complaints Touching the Destruction of Britain by the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and by the incomparable Bede (672-735), was resumed under the Normans by the monk of Canterbury, Eadmer (ca. 1060-ca. 1124). He wrote a history of his own times, titled Historia novorum in Anglia which centered around the revival of the English church Anselm, under whom Eadmer had studied.

But the greatest of the Norman historians was William of Malmesbury, who stands next to Bede in the line of English historical writing. With him begins a new school of historiography, based on critical and careful use of authorities and source materials, and a distinction between external and internal criticism, that is, between what can be learned from critical study of the text itself, and what throws light on the text from other sources of information.

William of Malmesbury was half Norman (the son of a French knight) and half English. He was a monk in the abbey of Wiltshire which had a famous library, and there he studied logic, theology, medicine and history, and collected a valuable repository of old manuscripts. The two works for which he is famous are:

1. Lives of the Kings of England, 449-1125.
2. Lives of the Bishops and Abbots of England, 601-1125.

In both works he tracked down with great persistence all the available source materials, and wrote with great historical balance and impartiality, tracing not only the lives of the men who made history, but also the development of social and political institutions. "He was," says Thompson, quoting Stubbs, "the first writer after Bede who attempted to give his details of dates and events such a systematic connection, in the way of cause and sequence, as entitled them to the name of History". (p. 252).

The most important contribution of French historians of the period was in the field of the history of the Crusades. The First Crusade (1096-1099) produced three historians: Robert the Monk who wrote the oldest complete history of the Crusade, and one which was very popular, translated into French, German and Italian from the Latin, though it is of poor historical value; Fulcher of Chartres, who was the most important historian of the Crusade, careful in his chronology and figures, and powerful as an eye-witness recorder of many of the events he describes; and Guibert de Nogent, who, unlike most religious historians of the period, noted the relationship of economic conditions and nationalistic emotions to the rise of the crusading spirit. The best general French history of the Crusades, says Barnes (p. 75) is William of Tyre. His History of Jerusalem describes the movements that shook the Holy Land from 1095 to 1184. He himself was born in the East; knew Latin, Byzantine Greek and Arabic; and became Archbishop of Tyre after the Second Crusade (1147-1149) when he wrote his 23 books of History of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, down to 1184. The work was continued to 1231 by Ernoul, in Le Livres Eracles, and by Bernard the Treasurer. The combined works of William of Tyre, Ernoul and Bernard were often presented as one history under the title, Chronique d'Outremer.

The Fourth Crusade. (1202-04) produced one of the most trustworthy historical accounts of all the many records written of the wars, the Memoirs of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, which is also called by the title The Conquest of Constantinople. The title underlines the tragic fact that the crusade, which started out as a holy war against the infidels in Egypt ended up as "a gigantic buccanering expedition" against the crusaders' unorthodox fellow-Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire. Villehardouin's book is noteworthy not only as a masterful description of mediaeval chivalry, and an honest account by a great noble and high leader of the crusade, but even more importantly as "the first medieval historical book of importance written in the vernacular". (Barnes, p. 75). Unlike his churchly contemporaries who wrote in ecclesiastical Latin, Marshal Villehardouin wrote in racy, understandable Old French and made history available to the people.

Of the troubled and complex history of Italy and its church in this early mediaeval period, little need be said, but three writers should be mentioned, one from the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and two from the 11th century, Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius rose to the rank of ~~the~~ cardinal, but became ^{involved} in the political-ecclesiastical intrigues of the time as an anti-pope, three times being excommunicated, but finally found peace and a life-work as the extremely able papal librarian under two of the best popes of the ninth century, Hadrian II and John VIII. His great contribution to church history was a continuation of the work of Cassiodorus, the 6th c. historian. Just as Cassiodorus had combined the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret in his Historia Tripartita, now in the ninth century Anastasius undertook to make known to the West the works of three Eastern historians, Nicephorus, Syncellus and Theophanes in a history which he called Chronographia Tripartita, translating them from Greek into Latin. The portions of Nicephorus and Syncellus, however, only repeat Roman history down to the time of Diocletian, 284 A.D., and are not important, but his introduction of the history of Theophanes, which extends to 813, is the best treatment of the empire and church of the Eastern Empire known in the West at that time. We will survey the Eastern historians in another section, but it might be well to mention here that Theophanes (758-817) ~~was~~ though a cousin of the Emperor, ~~but~~ lived the life of an ascetic monk and was a strong defender of veneration of relics and images in the Iconoclastic Controversies, which his Chronicle describes. Anastasius was also probably the compiler of the very important Liber Pontificalis (Book of Popes), a collection of old lives of the Popes extending back as far as the fourth century. Anastasius (probably) was the one who collected these and combined them into the only "sustained history" of the pontificate written up to that time. It was later continued and broadened.

The two eleventh century Italian historians, Leo Marsicanus of Ostia, and Peter the Deacon are remembered for their official history of the great monastery of Monte Cassino, "one of the best historical chronicles of the Middle Ages" (Thompson, p. 211). Leo began it and carried the record to the year 1075; and Peter the Deacon, who unfortunately was not above some pious forgery of documents, continued it down to 1115.

II. The Persian Period (226-642 A.D.)

The second period in Asian church history is the Persian period. It could also be called the Sassanian period, for it covers the years of the Sassanid dynasty from 226 A.D., when that strongly Asiatic line of kings overthrew the racially Persian but culturally Greek Parthian dynasty, to 642 A.D., when the Sassanians fell to the conquering Mohammedan Arabs. It was an era of religious conflicts for the church, persecuted as it was under the Zoroastrian state religion. But it was also the period when the Church of the East (later called Nestorian) first organized itself nationally and independently from the church in the West, and when the theological separation of the Nestorians from Catholic and Orthodox Christianity occurred as a result of the Nestorian controversy.

There are no real histories of the Asian church before the fifth century--only traditions, martyrologies and lives of the saints. But much information about the church outside the Roman Empire in Asia can be gleaned from the writings of its outstanding ecclesiastics and theologians.

The most important fourth century writers were Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338), Ephraem Syrus (d. 373). Jacob of Nisibis was better known in the east by his Persian name of Aphraates. He was the principal theologian of the Persian (Eastern) church in the fourth century, and his surviving work, the Homilies, are a collection of 22 expositions of the Christian faith strikingly independent of the formulations of the Nicene Council, and strongly ascetic in tone. Ephraem Syrus was a junior contemporary of Aphraates and the real founder of the famous School of Theology at Edessa, where he sought to rescue the eastern church from the heresies of Bardaisan. He is said to have written more than three million lines of sermons, Bible commentaries and hymns, and six volumes of his works survive, published in 1732-43 by the Maronite Peter Mobarek (Benedict) and J. S. E. Asseman. A convenient English translation of some is by J. B. Morris, Select Works of Ephraem Syrus (Oxford, 1847).

The martyrologies and historical traditions of the fourth century include the Acta Sanctorum, a martyrology written before 350 A.D. (translated and edited by W. Wright in Journal of Sacred Literature, 1865-66, viii, 45, 423); the Doctrine of Addai (ed. by W. Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa, London, 1864) which, though written in the Persian period relates to the earlier Edessa period; and three other martyrologies which likewise relate to the earlier period: the Hypomnema of Sharbel, and the Martyrdoms of Bar-Samya, Bp. of Edessa and the Deacon Habbibh. The dating and authenticity of all of these are somewhat suspect.

Beginning in the fifth century historical clarity emerges. The most important collection of documents of the whole Persian period is J. B. Chabot, Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens (Paris, Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1902), a compendium in one massive volume (695 pp.) of the acts of the Nestorian Councils from the Synod of Mar Isaac in 410 A.D. to the Synod of Mar Henaniso II in 775 A.D., with appendices up to the Synod of Timothy I in 790 A.D.

Other fifth century sources include an early fifth century Book of Martyrs by Mabutha on the persecutions under Sapor II, Yazdegerd I and Bahram V, which is in the first volume of S. E. Assemani's Acta Sanctorum Martyrum, 1748 (op. cit.). There is a Life of Barsumas by his disciple Samuel, important for its information about this bishop of Nisibis (b. 435, d. 489) who was the chief strength of the Nestorian church during its expulsion from the Roman Empire into Persia and who moved the famed theological school from Edessa to Nisibis. The most famous exile from the School of Edessa was Narses, called by his opponents "Narses the Leper", but by his friends "The Harp of the Holy Spirit", some of whose commentaries, sermons and hymns survive. His discourse "On the Corruption of Morals" is a startling expose of corruption in the church even at that early period which does not even spare his predecessor, Barsumas, from criticism.

One other work should be mentioned as of great importance in understanding the tangled theological controversies and divisions of the times, namely the long-lost work of Nestorius who has given his name, though not very accurately, to the Church of the East. Shortly before his death he wrote an autobiographical account of his life under the name of The Bazaar of Heracleides, in exile in Egypt about 450 A.D. A 12th c. manuscript of the work was discovered by a Syrian priest in 1889, and extensive research has revealed its authorship by Nestorius. The extreme importance of the work is its proof that Nestorius was not quite so "Nestorian" and more orthodox than his opponents gave him credit for. The best edition of the work is G. R. Driver and Leonard Hodgson, Nestorius, The Bazaar of Heracleides, newly translated from the Syriac (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).

Adamnan, St. ⁶²⁷
~~634~~-704

(Forbes-Jackson; Peiry).

9th Abbot of Iona. (674-704).

Tried to bring Ireland into conformity with rest of chch - the Synod of Birn (679)
adopted the acts known as laws of Adamnan.

Famed for his Life of St. Columba which still exists (in three books).

But neither a biography or history, but catalogue of miracles & prophecies.

Bk. I (after brief notice of parentage in preface) - Prophetic Revelations

Bk. II. Miracles (in 47 chapters).

III. Apparitions of angels.

Why valuable - from an extraordinary picture of a great man & his times.
relates only miracles to really believe.

St. Columba (d. 597).

Royal heritage - great-great-grandson of Neall of the Nine Hostages
grandson of Conall, who had been baptized by Patrick.
on mother's side descended from kings of Leinster.

Moving to Iona - among own kinsmen (his grandfather married daughter
of King of Scottish Dalriada).

From Iona - by ox-hide ships by chain of lakes to Inverness.

Anna COMNENA - royal princess + chkd historian. (1083 -

Born to Alexius Comnenus (r. 1081 -) Emperor of Rome (Constantinople).

Dynasty (Comnenian) - begun by Basil I, Macedonian, in 867.

great age of dynasty 976-1025, r. of Basil II, Slayer of Bulgarians.

But then Turks appear, take Emp. Romanus Diogenes captive (by Alp Arslan of Seljukian Turks) - conquer Asia Minor

So Anna "born and bred in the jungle" i.e. the Purple Chamber of imperial mothers.

Married Caesar Nicephorus Bryennius, soldier, diplomat + literary man.

Her History - is a life of her father.

Bl. I - early career. Rise of Normans + Bohemund as threat to Roman Emp

Bl. II-III - intrigues in Constantinople. Alexius bec. Emperor. 1081.

Alexius allies with German Emp. Henry IV against Normans + Turks.

Bl. IV. Defeat by Normans, escape.

Bl. V. Chkd details + heresies. Isaac the Sebastocrator, Theologian, warrior, older brother of Emp.

VI. Suppression of Manichaeans (descendants of Paulicians).

VII, VIII. Scythian invasion

IX. Plots

X. The Crusades appear: Peter the Hermit

French Counts attack Const. - promised to enter Asia.

XI. Bohemund attacks Const.

XII, XIII. vs. Bohemund. Ad Treaty.

XIV. Emp. fights the Turks.

Heresy of the Bogomils - semi-gnostic.

XV. Death of Alexius.

Import-u: ~~Fall~~ Decline of Eastern Rome + Rise of Turkey
Crusades regards Latin RC. as barbarian, hot heretic.

John Knox d. 1571

History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland

dictated 1559-1571

exact record of 1558-1561

Added in 1566) Bk. I. 1422-1558

Unnamed heretic burned 1422

Paul Craw burned - for following Huss & Wycliffe -

- 1) bread & wine unchanged
- 2) no confession to priests
- 3) no prayer to saints

Patrick Hamilton - first Ref. martyr.

Wishart - friend of Knox. Martyrdom.

Knox in galleys.

Knox returns from Geneva - but stopped at Dreppie.

Original beginning. Bk. II. Knox arrives May 2 1559.

III. Parliament ratifies the Ref.

IV. Mary Queen of Scots arrives.

[Read pp. 230-237] Queen + Knox.

Carlyle: "a hasty loose production, but grounded on the completest knowledge."

CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE RENAISSANCE

It is not surprising that the Renaissance, with its humanist interest in the classical past produced important developments in the writing of history. Nor should it be surprising to find that it produced few church historians. Its interest in history was not religious but secular. The Italian Renaissance, therefore, saw the emergence of the lay historian, quite different ~~from~~ in his local, political interests and his realistic, more critical methods from the priestly mediaeval historians who had preceded him. One of the most important contributions of the Renaissance historians was their search for the texts and documents of the past which, for the first time, they began to examine critically and without credulity.

The most familiar name in the transition from mediaeval to renaissance historical writing is that of Francesco PETRARCH (1304-74), who was not a church historian but rather "the true father of both Italian Humanism and of Humanist historical writing". (H. E. Barnes, Hist. of Historical Writing, p. 102). Petrarch's Lives (Liber de viris illustribus) was a history of Rome written as a series of short biographies of its great heroes. It dramatized the golden age of Rome as a sharp contrast to the unheroic Christian "Dark Ages" which followed, and thereby gave sharp impetus to the renaissance's secularizing idealization of the pagan past. But it also inspired church writers to glorify their own past with lives of Christian heroes more believable than some of the miracle-filled, mediaeval Lives of the Saints.

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464). One who wrote such a Lives of Famous Men was the most famous, but not the best church historian of his times. He was famous not because he was a historian but because he was a Pope (Pius II), and Popes who write creditable histories are rare. He was not a very religious Pope, but a good one, "perhaps the best man of letters and the best speaker who ever wore the tiara". (Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 8, p. 181) He was a brilliant and immensely likeable man with a great diversity of talents--poet, novelist, essayist, diplomat, geographer, diarist and ~~historian~~ ~~historian~~. Perhaps the most valuable part of ~~these~~ histories he wrote is his description of his own part in that history and how he viewed the events of his own time.

His historical works include:

Commentaries on the Council of Basel. Aeneas Sylvius himself was secretary of the Council which was the high point in the controversy between the conciliarists and the papacy, reaffirming the declaration of the Council of Constance (1414) that the authority of church councils was superior to that of the Pope. This work describes the deposition of Pope Eugenius IV.

History of Bohemia. The unity of Christendom in the time of Aeneas Sylvius was threatened not only by the controversy between conciliarists and papal supremacists, but also by the rise of pre-reformation reform movements like those of Wyclif and John Huss. His History of Bohemia is an important contemporary Catholic account of the Hussite Wars following the martyrdom of Huss at the Council of Constance.

Commentaries. Perhaps most valuable of all, historically, are

Commentaries. These diaries of the humanist-diplomat-pope cover his whole life, 1405-1463, and in their racy, anecdotal style contain an immense amount of unique information on the behind-the-scenes ecclesiastical politics not only of the Catholic church but of all Europe just before the Reformation. It includes a chapter on "How I Became Pope".

As secretary of the Council of Basel, Aeneas Sylvius had been a conciliarist, limiting the power of the pope. Perhaps his intimate view of the inner workings of the politics of that Council led him to distrust too much democracy. At any rate, when the Council deposed Pope Eugenius IV, and elected as his successor a layman, ^{the} Duke of Savoy, as Pope Felix V, Aeneas Sylvius became the new pope's secretary, and inevitably began to turn more papal and less conciliar. The process was completed when he himself was elected pope in 1485 and opposed all the conciliar views he had once defended. His papal bull, Execrabilis, of 1460 condemned as treason and heresy any appeal from a papal decree to the authority of a Council.

Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457). Whereas the importance of Aeneas Sylvius in church history is more due to his work and influence than to his writing, Valla made history by his writing of it. But like his contemporary, he was not principally a church historian. He was a linguist and literary critic, who wrote only one work of standard history, The History of Ferdinand I of Aragon.

That was not the book that gives him his place of fame as a church historian. His chief claim to special mention is rather a shorter monograph, Tract on the Donation of Constantine (De Constantini donatione declamatio) published in 1440, in which he exposed as outright forgery a famous edict attributed to the Emperor Constantine turning over temporal power to the Pope.

This, together with other critical essays such as one in which he convincingly casts doubt upon the apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed, has earned him the title of "founder of critical scholarship and historical criticism" (Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 7, p. 768 f.). The so-called "Donation" claimed to be a charter of the Emperor Constantine granting to Pope Sylvester and his successors the overlordship of "the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy or of the Western regions", in effect, the whole Western Roman Empire. It was effectively used by medieval popes as a major support of the temporal claims of the papacy over against kings and emperors. The full text of the "Donation" can be found in English in E. F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, 1892, pp. 319-329.

Valla's monograph exposing the fraud "had the effect of an intellectual earthquake", writes Thompson (Hist. of Historical Writing, vol. 1, p. 493). It was based on the investigations of others, notably Nicholas of Cusa, but it was his own simple, clear analysis of the Latin of the text that devastatingly exposed for all to see that it could never have been the 4th century document it claimed to be, but was undoubtedly written no earlier than about the time of Charlemagne in the 8th century. This was the beginning of scholarly textual and historical analysis of the documents of history.

HISTORIANS OF THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation opens a whole new period in the writing of church history. In one sense the church histories of that period build upon the humanist historiography of the Renaissance and even far outstrip it both in the volume of historical books produced and in zealous search for and recovery of original historical sources. But in another, more negative sense, the Reformation historians and their Counter-Reformation antagonists turn away from the promising beginnings of historical impartiality and critical analysis that is found in the humanist Renaissance, and revert instead to the polemic manipulation of history and the self-serving credulity of the Middle Ages. James W. Thompson, in his History of Historical Writing is sharp in his criticism: (1, p. 526)

"There are some periods of history which have to be not re-written but unwritten, and perhaps of no period is this so true as of the Reformation. From its inception ignorance, traditional interpretation and prejudice conspired to obscure and to mutilate the facts. There is an enormous volume of contemporary historical writing which must be discounted or discarded."

In times of controversy, like the Reformation, contemporary sources are not always the best sources, therefore, unless very critically examined and used.

Nevertheless, controversy also sharpens and stimulates the writing of church history. In their search for weapons of defense or attack, historians on both sides of the conflict dug deep for historical ammunition and in so doing made their "most important contribution to historical scholarship: the recovery and publication of early documents on church history". (Barnes, p. 122). They also began to analyze church developments from a deeper perspective. As Thompson admits, despite his sharp criticism quoted above:

"The firm establishment of Protestantism brought into prominence a branch of historiography...: church history, but of a nature radically different from the medieval historia ecclesiastica. Modern ecclesiastical history, treating of the inner life of the Church, its doctrine and administration, is the child of the Lutheran Reformation, created by the demands of the controversy raging between the Roman Church and the Protestants, the central question of which was the exclusive possession of 'the pure faith' by one church or the other.." (p. 613 f.)

We will look first at some of the less commendable polemic histories of the times, and then single out the best church historians on either side.

Polemic Church History in the Reformation

동양의

Reformation church history began rather poorly not so much as an effort to discover and report the true history of the church but rather as an attempt to prove from history that Protestantism was the true church and Catholicism a false counterfeit, or vice versa, depending on whether the historian belonged to the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation. Its basic philosophy of history was a return to the view of Orosius that history is an epic struggle between God and the Devil, with this difference, that whereas Orosius, following and over-simplifying Augustine, pictured the City of God in terms of the Christian church, and the City of the Devil in terms of paganism, now with Protestants battling Catholics the struggle was between Christians. "Two new 'Cities of Satan'..replaced the pagan 'City' of.. Orosius--'the Devil's Nest at Rome' and the followers of 'the crazy Monk of Wittenberg', respectively," writes H. E. Barnes (p. 121).

Robert Barnes (1495-1540). The first guns of the battle of the church historians were fired by the Protestants. One of Luther's earliest supporters, the knight Ulrich von Hutten, in 1517 discovered Valla's expose of the fraudulent Donation of Constantine and happily sent it to Luther to use against the Pope. This may have stimulated Luther to consider the mounting of an historical attack against Rome. He found an English Lutheran refugee in Germany, Robert BARNES, and directed him to write The Lives of the Popes of Rome. It was not good history, but it was an effective attack, purporting to trace all the disasters of the Middle Ages to the wickedness of the popes and their greedy seizure of temporal power from natural national rulers.

The Magdeburg Centuries. By far the best and most influential Protestant historical polemic was a work called the Magdeburg Centuries, so-called because each of its 13 volumes was devoted to the history of a complete century from the time of Christ up to the 13th century. Compiled between 1553 and 1575, it was begun by MATTHIAS FLACIUS (or Vlaciich) ILLYRICUS (1520-1575), a convert of Luther and often a theological opponent of Melanchthon but always a strong Lutheran partisan. He was assisted in the monumental undertaking by a whole corps of prominent scholars, six in all, who scoured all Europe for historical documents and evidence to strengthen their attack.

As with all the partisan histories of the Reformation, it is easy to criticize the Centuries. Its bias is obvious and extreme. Everything discreditable to Rome is included, and in a few cases even manufactured such as the report of a female pope, Pope Joan. The popes are all Anti-Christ. Miracles favorable to Catholicism are discounted as false, while those supporting the Protestant argument are uncritically accepted.

But even the most contemptuous of modern critics of the Centuries must grudgingly admit their immense contribution ~~of~~ that

work to the study of church history. J. W. Thompson calls it a "landmark in in European historiography and culture" "For, despite all its weaknesses," he writes, "the Centuries constituted a tremendous challenge to the historic basis of the Roman Church and made both Protestants and Catholics history-minded. The very method of attack-- the use of history to destroy an ancient historical institution-- was a stimulus to the study and development of historical research, for the Catholics could not permit the onslaught to go unchallenged and were compelled to turn to history and find ammunition for a counter-offensive." (Thompson, p. 530 f.)

Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538-1605). The man who took up the counter-attack for Rome against the Lutherans was a 21-year-old lecturer in church history at the evangelistic conference center of (St.) Philip Neri in Rome which was called the Oratory, and later the Congregation of Philip Neri. His name was Caesar Baronius, from a noble Neapolitan family. For forty-eight years he lectured at Neri's Congregation on church history, and in 1588 he used these lectures as the basis for publication of the first volume of the work which made him famous, the Ecclesiastical Annals. Like the Centuries, which he tried to answer point by point, each volume covered one century, and when he died at age 69 he was still working on volume 13. (Later writers, Raynaldus, Bozovius, Laderchi, and eventually Theiner, added volumes which carried the Annals down to the year 1590.

The Annals of Baronius proved immensely popular. The author had the unparalleled riches of the Vatican library at his disposal, and smothered the Protestants under a mass of documents, as Thompson vividly notes (p. 537). But he lacked the integrity of the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries, and though it looked for a short while that the Catholics had won the battle of the historians, Baronius' victory was short-lived. Later historians, acknowledging their indebtedness to him for uncovering so many valuable historical documents, are not so forgiving of his methods. Preserved Smith, the historian of the Reformation, writes:

"However poor was the work of the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries, they were at least honest in arraying their sources. This is more than can be said of Caesar Baronius, whose Annales Ecclesiastici was the official counterblast to the Protestant work. Whereas his criticism is no whit better than theirs, he adopted the cunning policy, unfortunately widely obtaining since his day, of simply ignoring or suppressing unpleasant facts, rather than of refuting the inferences drawn from them. His talent for switching the attention to a ~~side~~ side-issue, and for tangling instead of clearing problems, made the Protestants justly regard him as 'a great deceiver'". (The Age of the Reformation, p. 585)

Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614). It was inevitable that the Protestants would rally to answer Baronius as Baronius had tried to answer the attacks of the Magdeburg Centuries. The answer, which came from a Swiss Calvinist, Isaac Casaubon, in his work Exercitationes in Baronium (Exercises against Baronius) was a triumph of critical scholarship but a popular failure.

logist

Casaubon, a Christian humanist and philosopher (not a historian) wrote his work at the request of James I of England who wished to defend Anglicanism against the claims of the Catholics. Casaubon had originally been greatly impressed with the scope of Baronius's scholarship in the Annals, but on closer reading he was shocked to find that Baronius did not even know Greek and that his history was full of errors and mistranslations. At first he suspected the Catholic of deliberate deception but concluded on further investigation that the Cardinal was a basically good man with a poorly informed mind whose lack of scholarship made him unable to digest the huge amounts of historical material he had collected. He knew everything but understood nothing. Even Catholic historians began to find errors in Baronius. One German (Lucas Holstein) counted 8000 such mistakes. Casaubon therefore felt it imperative to set the historical record straight on behalf of the Protestant cause. The result, his Exercitationes, was a disappointment. It is more a collection of pedantic footnotes than a text. It simply lists the errors of Baronius, one by one, without unified argument, and aroused little popular interest, failing thereby to halt the spread of Baronius' poorer but more successful history.

Louis Maimbourg (1610-1686). The battle continued with another very popular history, a History of Lutheranism written by a French Jesuit, Maimbourg, in 1680. It was a popular, not very scholarly, collection of the Catholic arguments. He followed it up with an even less scholarly attack on the Calvinists, a History of Calvinism.

Ludwig von Seckendorf (1626-1692). Maimbourg's clever but unsound attack on the Lutherans was crushingly answered by the sound scholarship and careful documentary research of Ludwig von Seckendorf in his Historical and Apologetic Commentary on Lutheranism and the Reformation, in 1688-1692. Both by his birth and integrity this distinguished historian commended himself to the Saxon princes of Protestant Germany who made available to him documents hitherto hidden from historians in their archives. These he used to demolish the slanders of Maimbourg. Church historians are also indebted to him for one of the first textbook surveys of church history, his Compendium of Ecclesiastical History.

Bishop Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704). With Seckendorf and Bossuet the battle of the church historians, (Reformation against Counter-Reformation), begins to end and rises to a more dignified and sounder historical level. Bossuet's central argument against the Reformation is in his History of the Differences Among Protestant Churches. There he argues that Protestant rejections of papal authority break the unity of Christendom and can lead only to endless schism and ecclesiastical chaos. Unlike the more polemic writers, he admits to much that is good in Luther, and much that is bad in the popes, but insists that the choice between liberty and authority must be made on the side of authority. Another of his books, Discourse on Universal History is Augustinian in its philosophy that all history illustrates the controlling hand of God in human events. He has been called the "Orosius of the Counter-Reformation".

More Objective Church History in the Reformation

292332

There is no such thing as completely non-polemic church history written in the period of the Reformation. What Christian could be altogether neutral in so intense a struggle for what each side considered to be the essentials of the Christian faith. Nevertheless there is a difference between the writers we have listed above as "polemic" and those we will now consider as "more objective". The former intentionally and purposefully attacked their opponents, sometimes deliberately distorting history in the process. The latter at least tried to give a straightforward account of events as they saw them. The distinction is only relative. Some of the "polemic" writers, like Seckendorf and Bossuet, are careful and trustworthy. And some of the "objective" historians become inevitably controversial by the very nature of their direct involvement in the theological warfare of the times. Such, for example, are Bullinger, Beza and Knox.

In general, it has been observed, the best histories of the period were written by Protestants, but the best journals and memoirs by Catholics. (Thompson, op. cit. p. 561, 574)

Let me first simply list the names and principal writings of the more important, less polemic historians:

- John Sleidan (1506-1556). German Lutheran. Commentaries on Political and Religious Conditions in the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, 1517-1555.
- Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575). Swiss Reformed. History of the Reformation, 1519-1532.
- John Knox (1505-1572). Scottish Calvinist. History of the Reformation of Religion Within the Realm of Scotland, (to 1564).
- Theodore Beza (1519-1605). Swiss Calvinist. Ecclesiastical History of Church Reforms in the Kingdom of France. (1580)
- Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigne (1550-1630). French Huguenot. Universal History (from 1553-1602).
- Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623). Italian Catholic. History of the Council of Trent (1619)
- Niccolo Orlandini (d. 1606). Italian Jesuit. History of the Society of Jesus.
- Jean Bolland (1596-1665). Dutch Jesuit. Acta Sanctorum (Lives of the Saints).
- Pietro Giannone (1676-1748). Italian Catholic. Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples. (Critical of temporal power of papacy)
- Gilbert Burnet (d. 1715). Anglican. History of the Reformation of the Church of England. (to 1567)
- Johann Lorenz von Mosheim. (1694-1755). Protestant. Institutes of Church History: Ancient and Modern. (1755)

John Sleidan
(1503-53)

John Sleidan (his name is usually Latinized as Sleidanus) has been called the "greatest of all Protestant historians" in the Reformation period (J.W. Thompson, Hist. of Hist. Writing, I, p. 528). He was the first to note and analyze the significance of political factors underlying the religious developments of the Reformation.

Sleidan was a humanist scholar and disciple of Erasmus who came to be employed by the French as a diplomat in France's relationships with the Schmalkaldic League. This League was the political confederation which the Lutheran princes of Germany formed to protect themselves against the Emperor Charles V and his attempt to crush Protestantism by force of arms and restore all Germany to the Catholic faith. In the course of his diplomatic negotiations, Sleidan came to mistrust the Catholic politics of the Spanish Emperor and was gradually won to the cause of the Reformation.

France Catholic, but
anti-Span -
friendly to
German Lutherans

Though primarily a diplomat and jurist, Sleidan's humanist interests had led him to the study of history. He translated and was influenced by the works of the mediaeval French historian, Jean Froissart (1337-1410), who was a chronicler of the heroic age of chivalry and of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. His historical method was even more influenced by another French historian whom he also translated, Philippe de Commines (1445-1509). Commines' Memoirs are more analytical and less dramatic than Froissart, and are often considered ~~to~~ to be the transition between mediaeval and early modern historical writing.

The historical work for which Sleidan is famous is his Commentaries on Political and Religious Conditions in the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, 1517-1555. H.E. Barnes calls it "the ablest history of the Reformation written by either a Catholic or a Protestant before Bishop Gilbert Burnet" (Hist. of Hist. Writing, p. 124). It is a legal and constitutional defense of the Protestant princes' defiance of the edict of the Emperor against Lutheranism, and of their right to leave the Catholic Church. But though pro-Protestant, Sleidan was so objective and balanced a historian that neither the Lutherans or the Catholics were happy with his book. Melanchthon condemned it, and the Catholics outlawed it.

(first 40 yrs. of Ref.)

The great importance of Sleidan's work is that it was the first primarily political analysis of the Reformation movement and the Protestant revolt, says Barnes (op. cit. p. 125). As Sleidan himself wrote, "In describing religious affairs I was not able to omit politics, for as I said before, they almost always interact, and in our age, least of all, can they be separated." This attention to political influences was partly due, of course, to Sleidan's own involvement in the diplomatic negotiations of the times, but it can also be traced to the influence of Calvin. Though a Lutheran in his sympathies, Sleidan had great admiration for Calvin's trained legal mind and was an earnest student of his writings.

BULLINGER and KNOX

There are two historians of the Reformation who are significant not only because they wrote Reformation history but even more because they played important roles in that history themselves as Reformers. They are Heinrich Bullinger, the disciple of Zwingli, and John Knox, the disciple of Calvin.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575).

Bullinger, the Swiss Reformer, is remembered in the field of church historiography for his intimate, inside account of the early years of the Swiss Reformation in his Reformationsgeschichte (History of the Reformation, 1519-32).

Bullinger, the son of a parish priest, was educated at Cologne where he came under the influence of the works of Erasmus and Luther. Returning to Switzerland in 1523 he joined Zwingli's reform movement, becoming not only the Zurich reformer's disciple and son-in-law, but also, after Zwingli's death in 1531, his successor as the Reformed "bishop" of the Zurich area.

Both as a reformer and as a historian Bullinger was moderate and conciliatory. His History is of course pro-Protestant, but it has none of the fire and anger of Knox's more famous history of the Scottish Reformation. As leader of the German-Swiss reform he tried hard to mediate the growing schism between the Lutheran and Reformed wings of the Protestant movement. He sought to avoid confrontation between church and state. Perhaps as a result of the military disaster at Kappel in 1531, where Zwingli was killed, Bullinger was less enthusiastic than Calvin (or Sleidan) for church involvement in politics. He supported Thomas Erastus whose Zwinglian "Erastianism" acknowledged the state's right to intervene and overrule in church affairs but warned the church against trying to control the state. This view led Bullinger to support the development of English Anglicanism, ~~against~~ with its acceptance of state protection and support, against the aggressively independent and more Calvinistic position of the English Puritans.

Bullinger's Reformationsgeschichte is extremely important for the care with which he preserved and copied whole documents concerning the first years of the Swiss Reformation in the German-speaking cantons. His Erastianism, however, led him to neglect the political side of the Reformation and to limit his account rather narrowly to purely religious and theological matters. Moreover, his patriotic Swiss nationalism made him belittle the indebtedness of the Swiss Reformation to the Lutheran German Reformation.

The best edition of the Reformationsgeschichte was published in three volumes in 1839, edited by J. J. Hottinger and H.H. Vogeli.

JOHN KNOX
(c. 1514-1572)

Even greater than Bullinger both as a reformer and as a historian was "the thundering Scot", John Knox. He is the father of Scottish (and by derivation, American) Presbyterianism, and the author of one of the best of the partisan histories, History of the reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, first published in a complete edition in 1344, and more recently, in 1949 edited by W.C. Dickinson in 2 volumes.

His life history is familiar. Born probably in 1514 and educated at St. Andrews he was ordained a priest in 1536. He was converted to Protestantism probably under the influence of a Thomas Gwilliam, but the circumstances and date are obscure. A friend of the earliest reformers, he was captured by a Catholic French force sent to avenge the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and served two years as a galley slave. Freed in 1549 he spent the next four years in England vigorously siding with the more Protestant and Calvinist party in the infant Anglican church. When the Catholic Mary became queen in 1553 he fled to the continent and at Calvin's urging became for a short time pastor of the English congregation at Frankfurt, but also spending considerable time as a disciple of Calvin at Geneva where, in 1556 he became pastor of the Geneva English congregation. His writings in Geneva principally developed the theme of the right of Christians to rebel against idolatrous rulers. When, in 1559, he returned to Scotland at the invitation of the Protestant nobles who hoped for his help against the threat of Catholic French rule over Scotland, it was this Christian right of revolt against ungodly rule that became the theological foundation of his personal challenge to Mary, Queen of Scots, and the cornerstone of the Scottish reformation. The defeat of the French by the Scottish lords, with English help, in 1560 ~~and~~ ~~gives~~ an initial victory to the cause of reform, but the death of Mary's husband, King Francis II of France, left her free to return to Scotland as ~~an~~ its queen without the onus of the French connection and threatened to ~~undo~~ the Reformation victory. From 1561 to 1567 Knox and Mary dueled for the soul of Scotland, a bitter battle which was not decided until scandal and indiscretion forced Mary from the throne in disgrace. She was succeeded by her infant son James VI (who was later to become also James I of England). Knox preached the sermon at the coronation. Five years later, in 1572, Knox died "having influenced not merely the religion but the character of the nation more than any other man in Scottish history" (Walker, Hist. of the Christian Church, rev. ed. 1958, p. 373).

Knox is better known for his fiery oratory and his thundering involvement in politics and reform than for his writings but he wielded a powerful pen. His earliest work in Geneva was pure male chauvinism: The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of women, a tract directed against Mary Tudor arguing that women should not rule. Two years later, in 1560, he was the principal drafter of the Scottish Book of Discipline, which moulded the constitutional church order of Scottish and American Presbyterianism.

Knox

The work which had earned John Knox an honored place in the ranks of church historians is his History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland. Perhaps it was his early training at St. Andrews, ^{and perhaps} ~~at~~ under the Scottish scholar John Major, that enabled Knox to at least partly subdue his bent for fiery partisanship and lift his History above the level of special pleading for his own cause to a surprising measure of balance and fairness and honest reporting of the facts. H. E. Barnes, who is not always gentle in his criticism of church historians, has this to say of Knox in his History of Historical Writing:

"From the standpoint of literary quality his history was a work of genius, 'displaying a marvelous precision and sureness in the selection and presentation of the striking and significant details.' For a polemic writer of the time he showed an unusual mastery of and reliance upon humor, sarcasm and irony. Nor did Knox fail to condemn in the most vigorous ~~reformer~~ terms those who adopted Calvinism as the means of gaining selfish material ends or resorted to violence in the name of religion in order to revenge political or personal grievances. While Knox saw his facts though decidedly partisan eyes he did not consciously falsify or suppress facts." (p. 124)

The partisanship in the History is obvious, particularly in Book II, which was the first section he wrote. The Roman Catholic Church is "antichrist", and the Protestants are "the Congregation of Christ Jesus the Evangel of God". Catholic priests are "that vermin of shavelings utterly corrupted", while Protestant martyrs are the "poor saints of God". This is the propaganda side of his writing, for it must not be forgotten that the book was written amidst some of the fiercest political and religious conflicts of the whole ~~of~~ Reformation period. But Knox was far more than a propagandist and as a historian he searched carefully for documentation and confirmation of his narrative, and invited criticism of what he had written from expert witnesses. And even from the propaganda side of the History we learn from the inside something of the fears and hopes and motivations of those sturdy Scottish covenanters who gave Scotland its freedom and Presbyterianism its firmest base. (242)

The History is divided into four Books written by Knox plus a fifth Book added after his death. Book I was not the first part of the History as originally written. Knox first wrote Book II as an account of contemporary events in which he was caught up in the crucial years 1558-1559 beginning with the formation of the Protestant League of nobles, "The Lords of the Congregations" and the ominous marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to the French crown prince. Knox completed this section in 1559. Book III was begun a few years later, probably in 1563, as a continuation of the story up to 1561; and Book IV (written from 1566 to 1571) carries the record from 1561 to 1564. Book V was added by a later hand, perhaps from Knox's note, but not in his vivid style. It completes the history of the Scottish Reformation to the year 1567.

The best current edition is John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. by Wm. Croft Dickinson, 2 vols., N.Y. 1950.

First (and unprinted) edition by Vantrollier 1586-87; first finished edition in 1644 by David Buchanan. The classic edition is that of David Laing, 1846-48.

Theodore de Beze (Beza)
1519-1605

Another Reformer who wrote church history was Calvin's successor at Geneva as leader of the Reformed (Presbyterian) branch of the Protestant Reformation, Theodore de Beze, whose name is Latinized as Beza. In addition to a Life of John Calvin he wrote An Ecclesiastical History of Church Reforms in the Kingdom of France which has earned him a place in the ranks of church historians though his major contributions were as a New Testament Greek scholar, theologian, educator and church leader.

Theodore Beza was born in Burgundy (France), son of a lesser nobleman. He studied law at the University in Orleans (like Calvin) and was attracted to the humanist study of the classics (also like Calvin). A secret marriage made him reluctant to be ordained a priest as his family wished. After a severe illness when he was 29 years old he was converted to Protestantism, went to Geneva and publicly married his secret wife. He was made Professor of Greek in nearby Lausanne and in 1556 published a critically annotated Latin translation of the Greek New Testament which became the basis of the English translation, the Geneva Bible.

In 1558 Calvin invited Beza to Geneva and in 1559 made him Rector of the Genevan Academy which he was then founding. All through these years he was one of the chief advisers of the troubled French Huguenots in their stormy conflict with the French Catholics during the Wars of Religion. When Calvin died in 1564 he succeeded him not only as Moderator of the Company of Pastors but the leading spokesman of Reformed Protestantism in Europe.

His Life of John Calvin was a labor of love and full of valuable contemporary observations and materials but it is marred by modern standards as too eulogistic.

More important as history is his work Histoire ecclesiastique des eglises reformees au royaume de France, 1521-1563 (Ecclesiastical History of Church Reforms in the Kingdom of France). The work does not bear his name, and some think he wrote only the introduction and vol. 1, directing the writing of the rest by his pupils Nicolas des Gallars and Simon Goulart. It is not, in fact, a great history but it does contain invaluable documents and information of the critical period in French Protestantism written by a leader of the church who played a significant role in the developments he was describing.

Beza is better known as the first of the Calvinist scholastics, hardening Calvin's more flexible theology with his strong defense of double predestination and Biblical literalism. But it must also be noted that he was a champion of church unity, for his Harmony of the Confessions (1581) has been called a "landmark in ecumenical history" (McNeill, Hist. & Character of Calvinism, p. 275). It was an attempt to draw the divided wings of the Reformation together by showing to the warring theologians the basic harmony of 15 different Protestant creeds of the times.

For more information on Beza, read Henry M. Baird, Theodore Beza, the Counsellor of the French Reformation 1519-1605 (N.Y., Lond. 1899)

FRENCH HUGUENOT HISTORIANS

It has been said that the year 1559 marked "a new stage in French history and historical writing". In that year the persecuted French Reformed Church organized its first General Assembly, and from then on the Huguenots began to win such a significant proportion of the French nobility and intellectuals to their cause that for a while it seemed likely that France, like Holland and Scotland, would become a Presbyterian (Reformed) nation. The rise of the Huguenots was accelerated by the decline of the Catholic dynasty under a succession of weak kings. It was not surprising that a movement of such intellectual and political as well as religious strength should have produced a notable line of historians recording the progress of their church. I will mention only four. (Beza could well be included but is usually associated with the Swiss Reformation).

(1. Thompson, op. cit. p. 553)

1. Francois de la Noue (1531-1591). The best histories of the period, as has been observed, were written by Protestants; the best memoirs and journals by Catholics. An exception is the work of the Protestant memoirist Francois de la Noue, called Bras-de-fer after he lost his ~~xxx~~ arm in gallant fighting for the Huguenots during the French wars of religion (1562-1593) and replaced it with an iron one. His Discours politiques et militaires is a collection of 26 discourses on the political and military course of the civil war between French Catholics and Protestants, especially between 1562 and 1570. Firmly Calvinist, he is nevertheless fair to his opponents, longs for French national unity, and proposed a union of moderate Catholics and Huguenots.

2. Pierre Victor La Palma, or Palma-Cayet (1525-1610)! One of the best chronicles of the period was written by a historian who was first a Catholic, then a Protestant, and then a Catholic again, Palma-Cayet. Converted to Calvinism by conviction, he re-converted to Catholicism in loyalty to his King when Henry of Navarre, the Protestant leader accepted ~~Calvinism~~ Catholicism as the price for the kingship and the restoration of the unity of France, ending the disastrous wars of religion. Palma-Cayet was appointed official recorder by Henry when he became King. He wrote two chronicles: the ~~xxx~~ Chronologie novenaire covers the years 1589-1598, and is more accurate than the Chronologie septenaire which record the events of the years 1598-1601.

3. Jean de Serres (1540-1598). The best Protestant historian of these stormy times was Juan de Serres, who was equally at home as a scholar in theology or philosophy as in history. He was a graduate of Calvin's Academy at Geneva, studied there under Beza, and became principal of the college of Lausanne and the Academy at Nimes. In 1595 he was appointed royal historiographer by Henry of Navarre after his enthronement as Henry IV of France, but unlike his contemporary, Palma-Cayet, De Serres remained a firm Huguenot even after his King turned Catholic. His most valuable work is Commentarium de statu

religionis et reipublicae (Commentary on the state of religion and the republic), a history of the French religious wars under Henry II, Francis II (husband of Mary Queen of Scots) and Charles IX (d. 1574). In later editions he brought the record down to 1576. de Serres is, of course, pro-Huguenot, blaming the civil strife on the political intrigues of the Catholic family of the Guises and the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici. But historians rate his history as "reliable and exact" (Thompson, p. 562). Von Ranke calls the latter part of the Commentaries "perhaps the best source for the period".

4. Theodore Arippa d'Aubigne (1550-1630). "The last of the great Huguenot historians of this period" is how J.W. Thompson describes d'Aubigne the elder in his History of Historical Writing (p. 563). A student of Beza at Geneva, and a fighter in the wars of religion since the age of 18, d'Aubigne wrote vivid, dramatic history from the viewpoint of an eye-witness. He served under Henry of Navarre (Henry IV of France) first as a soldier, then as counsellor and finally, at the urging of Henry himself, as historian. His history has the title Histoire universelle (Universal History) because it purposed to trace the history of his times not only in France and Europe but also in Turkey, Persia and Africa, but the central figure throughout is Henry whom d'Aubigne considered the major history-maker of his day. The King remained his hero even after his political conversion to Catholicism for the sake of the throne of the France, but d'Aubigne, unlike Palma-Cayet, remained a firm Huguenot all his life.

His History covers the years 1553 to 1602 and focuses on the Catholic-Huguenot struggles in France, but includes the larger picture of the reformation controversies in Europe of the times. "No author," says Thompson, "has given fuller information than he upon the reformation period from the beginning of the Civil Wars to the Edict of Nantes which finally brought religious peace." d'Aubigne treats of history in rather artificial segments--short periods of ~~xx~~ religious wars each ending in a treat of peace, and his approach is heavily biographical, but few wrote better character sketches of the leaders of the age, and his is remembered as one of the first to sense the importance of public opinion on the making of history.

Catholic Historians of the Counter-Reformation

History was a prickly subject for Catholics in the years of the Reformation. One thousand years of increasingly successful centralization of power in Rome had not been achieved without dark stains on the fabric of the papacy. Power corrupts, as a Catholic historian has observed, and it was much easier for righteously indignant Protestant historians to uncover and condemn the corruptions of what they came to call the "Dark Ages" than for the Catholic historians of the counter-reformation to attempt to explain and defend them.

1. Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623)

As a matter of fact, the best of the Catholic historians in this controversial age was as critical of the papacy as any Reformer. His is Paolo Sarpi, the Venetian diplomat and humanist scholar, whose many-sided genius has led some to compare him with Leonardo da Vinci. He was so brilliant even as a young novitiate in the Order of the Servites (the mendicant Servants of Mary) that the Duke of Mantua appointed the 14-year-old boy as court theologian. At 22 in Milan he entered the service of Cardinal Borromeo who had been a leading figure in the Council of Trent. Then for a while he represented his Order in Rome and finally, in 1588, returned to Venice. By then, at age 36, he was "already one of the best-educated men of his age..prepared and equipped to defend his native Republic with the sharpest pen ever wielded by an Italian writer." (J.W. Thompson, Hist. of Historical Writing, p. 542)

The defense of the independence of the Venetian Republic involved Sarpi in a head-on collision with the spreading temporal power of the papacy which now claimed the rule of all Italy. Venice, as the strongest secular state in Italy was the major obstacle to that claim. Sarpi's anti-papalism, thus, was not religious like that of the Reformers but political. His chief targets were the Pope, Spain and the Jesuits, the three great power-centers of the counter-reformation. He was often accused of being Protestant and Calvinist, but Sarpi and his supporters in Venice refused to let his Catholic opponents define Catholicism. "Who talks of Calvinists?, the Venetian Doge is said to have replied to a papal attack. "We are as good Christians as the pope". (Thompson, p. 543) The ~~present~~ point of difference with Rome was legal and constitutional, not theological.

Wide-ranging though Sarpi's learning was--he mastered everything from Hebrew to mathematics, and from medicine to psychology--his life style was severely simple. He lived in a bare cell with a picture of Christ and a crucifix over a human skull. Utterly fearless, he shrugged off a bloody attack by papal assassins with the remark, "He who thinks too much of living knows not how to live well. One is bound to die once. To be curious about the day or place or manner of dying is unprofitable." (Quoted, *ibid*, p. 542)

Sarpi's great historical work is his Storia del Concilio Tridentino (History of the Council of Trent), published in 1619. That

Council which met intermittently for about 20 years, from 1545 to 1563, was one of the high watermarks of the Catholic counter-reformation. In it, the victory of the papal supremacists over the forces in Catholic reform which sought a reconciliation with the Protestants sealed the permanent division of European Christendom. Sarpi's sympathies were with the Catholic reformers, and to a lesser extent even with the Protestants. Thompson quotes him as saying in 1611, "I should be delighted to witness the advance of the Reformation, for it would tend to advance the interests of mankind" (Ibid, p. 543). His motive in writing the History was two-fold: first, to plead for the undoing of the damage which the Council had done to Christian unity; and second, to discredit forever the doctrine of papal supremacy over the State. In his argument for the separation of church and state, and in his denial of Rome's claims to temporal power, Sarpi stood in the line of William of Ockham and Marsiglio of Padua.

The introductory part of his History which traces the course of the Reformation before the meeting of the Council of Trent, Sarpi relies heavily upon John Sleidan's great Commentaries. But for the main body of the work he gathered together an immense amount of original materials, documents and secret archives on the Council. It is to his credit that though he was obviously writing with a bias, he never falsified his material. His exposures of papal intrigue and Jesuit cunning were devastating, and even his negative bias, says von Ranke, insofar as it did not distort, created a new critical unity of approach in historical method. It "is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures." (L. von Ranke, tr. by E. Fowler, The Hist. of the Popes, N.Y. 1901, vol. , p. 231)

von Ranke goes on to point out some of Sarpi's weaknesses. He misunderstands the constitution of Charles V's Holy Roman Empire, for example. Instead of its three-fold division into (1) the electoral college, (2) the college of princes, including the bishops, and (3) the cities, Sarpi keeps treating of it in terms of the more common pattern in Europe, that is, the three estates, (1) clergy, (2) temporal sovereign, and (3) the cities. Sarpi also follows the common mediaeval practice of transcribing whole passages from other earlier writers. This is particularly noticeable in his free use of Sleidan's work. But even so, it is to Sarpi's credit that he makes more original use of his sources than was customary at that time. His literary style is outstanding, and his historical approach is cohesive and unified.

In the light of Sarpi's unflinching criticisms of the papacy, it is not surprising that he was widely praised by Protestant historians. More secular historians, like Gibbon and Macaulay, also speak highly of him, as does one of the more recent historians of the Reformation, Preserved Smith. Macaulay calls him "the best of early modern historians. But he also has his critics, particularly among Catholic historians, notably Lord Acton. (See H. E. Barnes, op. cit. p. 129).

Of the many biographical sketches of Paolo Sarpi, one of the most readable is by A.D. White in Seven Great Statesmen (N.Y., 1919, pp. 3-53). See also Alexander Robertson, Fra Paolo Sarpi, The Greatest of the Venetians (London, 1884).

2. Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667)

Rome could not allow so formidable an attack on its very foundation's as Sarpi's to go unanswered. The man picked for the defense was an Italian noble, Sforza Pallavicino, who had given up his title and wealth to enter the Jesuit order. As a matter of fact he was only the second choice for the task, however. Another Jesuit, Terentino Alcati, had begun to collect material on the Council of Trent but died before he could organize and write it up, so Pallacino was able to use his material and collected even more, for he was given access to all the most secret documents of the Vatican.

Pallavicino's answer to Sarpi is titled Istoria del Concilio de Trento (History of the Council of Trent), and a few years after the publication of its final volume, in 1567, the author was rewarded with the red hat of a cardinal. But Pallavicino's defense of the Council in no way measures up to the higher standards of Sarpi's devastating but generally accurate critique. What Pallavacino does is simply to try to refute Sarpi step by step. He lists 361 so-called errors which, however, on close examination, prove to be either so trivial as to be irrelevant, or to be alleged as errors without proof other than Pallavicino's own unsupported insistence. An example: Sarpi states there was a treaty between the pope and the King of France. Pallavicino denies this, quoting a contemporary statement that there was no treaty. He fails to note that the statement merely said there was no treaty in writing and Sarpi is nearer to the actual truth that there was an oral agreement on an alliance.

The historian von Ranke concludes a comparison of the two antagonists with this devastating criticism of Pallavicino: "In matters altogether unessential he (Pallavicino) is strictly correct, but he totally misrepresents and distorts things of vital importance." (Hist. of the Popes, vol. 2, p. 237). He concludes the comparison, "They possessed minds of totally opposite character. Sarpi is acute, penetrating and sarcastic; his arrangement is exceedingly skillful, his style pure and unaffected.. Neither is Pallavicino devoid of talent. He frequently makes ingenious parallels and defends his party with considerable address. But his intellect has something weighty and cumbrous in its character.. his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom. Pallavicino is not without a certain flow of manner, but he is obscure, diffuse and shallow." (ibid., p. 238)

The Index

Roman Catholic historians suffered a crippling blow when, in the year 1595, the church instituted an edict of suppression of free thought called the Index of Prohibited Books (Index librorum prohibitorum). Enforced by the Inquisition, the Index made it impossible for Catholic authors, or any authors in Catholic countries, to write books critical of the church. They could only defend the church. This, of course, made it impossible for faithful Catholics any longer to write impartial, balanced history, and from this date on all Catholic historical writing ~~xxxxxx~~ lost much of its credibility.

The irrepressible Sarpi, who was always in trouble with his church, commented in the second edition of his History of the Council of Trent (which, incidentally, had to be published in Geneva, for no Catholic city would allow it printed by that date, 1629) that the Index was "the finest secret which has ever been discovered for applying religion to the purpose of making men idiotic" (Geneva, 1629, II, 91, quoted in Thompson, p. 540). From this time on, until the weakening of the Index under the influence of the Enlightenment, general Catholic church histories are too one-sided to consult without considerable caution. In certain, limited aspects of church history, notably the internal development of the Catholic church, and the rise of the new orders, and the missionary expansion of the church, Catholics still, however, produced important historical materials.

Niccolo Orlandini (d. 1609) and Franciscus Sacchinus (d. 1625)

One of the most important of such histories was the first major History of the Society of Jesus (Historia Societatis Jesu) begun by Niccolo Orlandini (Nicholas Orlandinus) and finished by Franciscus Sacchinus. Orlandini was able to compile the record only up to the death of Loyola in 1556 before he himself died in 1606. But as a humanist and mild skeptic Orlandini gave the work a solid historical tone, down-playing alleged miracles and including candid disclosures of the political maneuverings of the Jesuits.

Upon Orlandini's death, Franciscus Sacchinus, a professor at the College of Rhetoric at Rome, took up the story and gave the next eighteen years of his life to completing the history of the Society down to the year 1580. The indispensable primary source for the beginnings of the Jesuits is, of course, the remarkable autobiography of the Society's founder, Ignatius Loyola, who dictated in great, self-analytical detail the story of his life in the last years of his life, from 1553 to 1556. H. E. Barnes (Hist. of Hist. Writing, p. 132) calls it "the ablest autobiography of the whole age".

This History of the Society of Jesus, begun by Orlandini and continued by Sacchinus, was later taken up again 88 years after the death of Sacchinus in 1710 by J ouveny who added a rather fragmentary account of the next 15 years (1580 to 1595). And in 1750 Julius Cordars completed it from 1616 to 1625. Unfortunately these later additions were of lesser quality than the work of Orlandini and Sacchinus.

ACTA SANCTORUM, by Heribert Rosweyde (1569), and Jean Bolland (1596-1665)

"The foremost contribution of the Jesuits to historical scholarship in this period," writes H.E. Barnes (ibid, p. 132), "was the systematic assembling of a vast collection of the lives of the saints". It was started by a Father Heribert Rosweyde, ~~the~~ but the guiding figure in this massive undertaking which is still in progress with some 68 volumes published as of 1942, was a Belgian Jesuit named Jean Bolland. The arrangement is artificial. The lives of the saints are treated in sequence based on the order of the saints' days in the church calendar, beginning with January 1. A "saints' day" in that calendar is the day of his death. The first volume appeared in 1643, and Bolland covered all

the saints who are thought to have died in the first two months, January and February. His pupils, Heaschen and Papebroch, continued the work and others are still at work toward completing one of the most important and extensive projects of church biography ever undertaken. In addition to the main volumes, a supplementary journal, named after the major founder, Bolland, has been published since 1882, called Analecta Bollandiana.

The work of Bolland and his successors helped to rescue the writing of ecclesiastical biography from the depths of credulity with which it had been afflicted from earliest times clear up to the present. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, the friend of Galileo, once remarked that many of the saints' lives as written up to his time were "more conducive to humor than to edification" (Barnes, p. 133). But Bolland and his fellow Jesuits were aware of the damage done to the church's credibility by Protestant exposure of too many pious frauds and bogus miracles in traditional church writing, and set out to build more believable standards of authenticity into their new Acta Sanctorum. They carefully examined the old traditions and legends and arranged their sources by comparative date and reliability, pruning away much of the accumulated baggage of the uncritical past.

Anglican Church History

Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715)

Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England marks a turning point in the writing of church history, a transition between the Reformation period and the early modern. H.E. Barnes calls it "probably the ablest historical work on any phase of the Reformation down to the time of Mosheim" (p. 134).

Gilbert Burnet was a Scottish Episcopalian, born in Edinburgh and educated at Aberdeen where he studied arts, law and divinity "seldom working less than fourteen hours a day", according to J.D. Douglas (Intl. Dict. of the Xn Ch.). Ordained an episcopalian in Presbyterian Scotland, but highly critical of bishops and clergy, and remarkably tolerant toward the Presbyterians, he found his moderate position under attack from both sides. Presbyterians criticized him for being episcopal, and Anglicans because he was fair to Non-Conformists. In 1669 he was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and refused two offers of bishoprics because he considered them political bribe offers. He left Scotland for London where he was made royal chaplain until he rebuked Charles II for his way of life and was discharged. Outlawed by James II he found refuge in Holland where he became adviser to William of Orange. When the House of Stuart was deposed in 1688 for its Catholicism and corruption, Burnet helped prepare the way for the Protestant prince, William of Orange to become King of England and preached the sermon at his coronation. He was made Bishop of Salisbury.

He is the author of two important historical works, one in church historiography, and one a general history. The first, his History of the Reformation of the Church of England has been highly praised for its fair and balanced treatment of both Anglicanism and Non-Conformity, and its attention to the inter-relation of cause and effect in church history, the influence of intellectual and social movements on the church, as well as the theological developments and ecclesiastical politics of the time. His second work, The History of His Own Time, is prized by historians for its intimate account of party politics and palace gossip, written from the Whig point of view but with the advantage of Burnet's direct access to court circles as chaplain to Charles II.

The History of the Reformation was published in London, in three volumes, 1679-1715. The best edition now is ~~by~~ that edited by Nicholas Pocock (Oxford, 1865, in 7 vols.). The History was sharply criticized by an Anglican priest, Henry Wharton, who had a personal grudge against Burnet, ~~in a book~~ written under the assumed name of Anthony Harmer, Specimen of Some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England (1692), but Wharton is forgotten, and Burnet's work still stands, though he did profit by some of the criticisms and make corrections. Criticisms by John Strype (1642-1737) were more helpful and positive. Strype published later a history of the period following that covered by Burnet, Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion (1700-1731), which is more pedantic and heavy than Burnet's lively records but which does incorporate a vast amount of valuable material gathered from charters, letters and state papers.

The Early Mediaeval Period

5th to 8th c.

Augustine, as we have noted, marks a turning point in the writing of church history. With the triumph of the barbarians, the fall of Rome, and the rise of the church, pagan history disappears in the fifth century. The last pagan historian was Zosimus, whose History of Rome to 410 A.D. blames the fall of the Empire on Christianity. (Thompson, p. 296). But from the 5th to the 8th centuries the writing of history was almost exclusively in the hands of Christians, mostly clerics in the West, but laymen in the East, at least up to 600 A.D. And history was dominated by Christians clear on into the 13th century.

The period begins with the barbarian invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the West the empire lost its unity to separate Germanic kingdoms in Spain (the Visigoths), Gaul (the Franks), Italy (the Ostrogoths and Lombards), Africa (the Vandals) and England (the Angles and Saxons). But in the East, Byzantine Rome preserved its empire around Constantinople for another thousand years.

In the compilation of chronicles of church history, that is, the plain chronological record without interpretation, the pattern in this period is still the great Chronicle of Eusebius (to be distinguished from his Ecclesiastical History). Rufinus and Jerome had translated Eusebius' Chronicle into Latin, adding considerable material on the church in the West, and extending the record from 324 A.D. (where Eusebius had ended) to 378 A.D. Upon Jerome's extension of the record, other later historians kept adding to the record. Idatius, a bishop in Spain, recorded the years 379 to 468; his work is the best record available of Visigothic history in Spain. In Gaul, Prosper of Aquitaine continued Jerome's version down to the year 455; and Marius of Avenches (Lausanne) extended Prosper's record to 581. In the East, Marcellinus, prime minister under the Emperor Justinian added 150 years to Jerome's chronicle, for the period 379-534, though his judgment of history is rather unbalanced. For example, he gives four lines to Alaric's capture of Rome in 410, but fifty-four lines to the alleged discovery of the head of John the Baptist! Victor, bishop of Tunis, continued Jerome to 566 A.D., giving detailed attention to events in Africa, which makes his record a principal source for the history of the Vandals. And in Spain, John of Biclaro wrote a supplement to Victor and Idatius carrying the story down to the years 567 to 590. The series ends with the additions of Cassiodorus in Italy (to 519), Isidore of Seville in Spain (to 627) and Bede in England (to 726). In the eighth century, says Thompson, the series merged into the monastic chronicles of the Carolingian renaissance when Charlemagne, taking his cue from the English monastic records, required every monastery to keep an annual record of the history of the year. Perhaps the most important of these are the Annals of the Monastery of Lorsch (Annales Laurisenses which cover the years 741-829). (J. W. Thompson, History of Historical Writing, vol. 1, pp. 129 f., 165 f.)

Since the secular and church history of the Empire after Constantine, and particularly after the decline of Rome in the West, are inextricably interwoven, much church history is written by the

priests who attempted to write general histories of the times.

Victor Vitensis, a bishop in the province of Byzacena in Africa at the time of the Vandal invasion wrote three books of history covering the years 429-484, entitled History of the Persecution of the Province of Africa by Gaiseric and Huneric, Kings of the Vandals. It is the only contemporary source of Vandal history outside Possidius's Life of St. Augustine. In Italy, Cassiodorus was the best historian of Gothic-Roman relations in addition to his contributions to church history in his translations of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. The loss of his twelve books of Gothic History has been called "one of the most grievous in early mediaeval historiography" (Thompson, p. 147). Isidore of Seville (d. 636) should also be mentioned but though he is an outstanding scholar and churchman, head of the church in Spain from 603 to 636 as archbishop of Seville, his Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum is most unsatisfactory. The only really great history of the times, "the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography" is Gregory of Tours, History of the Kings of the Franks, about which we shall speak separately. But there is one other notable work, the rather crude Gothic History of Jordanes, who about 550 A.D. published it as a condensation of the twelve books of Cassiodorus, and ~~Jordanes~~ became the first writer to relate the history of the German migrations, and the Catholic attempt to convert the heretically Arian invaders.

After the death of Gregory of Tours in 594, the history of church history--in fact of all historical and literary writing--falls upon bad days. "Intellectually," says W. G. Thompson, "the seventh century was the darkest age in Western Europe" A new light breaks over that dark continent only with the coming of the English missionaries, Willibrord, Willibald and Boniface, and the new spiritual and intellectual renaissance of the eighth century. In the field of church history, by far the greatest single book of the age is Bede's Ecclesiastical History, "the greatest history written in the barbarian epoch", especially important for the years 597 to 731. But this, too, we shall consider separately.

Christian writing from the 4th to the 7th century developed another important type of historiography: the Vitae sanctorum, or Lives of the Saints. The first great example of this class in the West was Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin, and the type was continued and further popularized by Pope Gregory the Great's Life of St. Benedict. The most important collection of these saints' Lives for modern readers is the Acta Sanctorum begun by Johannes Bollandus in Antwerp in 1643, which is still being printed and added to with 68 volumes published so far. The index is in vol. 62. It is supplemented by the journal Analecta Bollandiana (published from 1882 on). (See Cambridge Mediaeval History, VI, p. 350).

These lives, though written primarily for homiletic and devotional purposes, unexpectedly prove to be of unique historical value in that they record the daily life of the average people of the times, whereas regular history, as such, was almost exclusively devoted to the lives of the high and powerful. As Thompson writes, "Our knowledge of the family and social life of the lower classes in the mediaeval period would be almost a blank if it were not for the lives of the saints." (p. 153)

For example, Eugippius' Life of St. Severinus is the only record we have of conditions along the lower Danube after the fall of the Huns. The history of trade and commerce, as well as of the church, is made clearer by the lives of the Celtic missionaries, St. Patrick in Ireland and St. Columba in Scotland, and of the Saxon missionary Ansgar in Denmark. Two lives of St. Patrick are contained in "the most valuable record" of early Irish history, the Book of Armagh which was written in Latin and copied by a scribe in 807 A.D. (Thompson, p. 158) The Life of Columba by Adamnan is even more important ~~in~~ in church history, because, though it sheds little light on Columba's great missionary work as the "apostle to Scotland", it gives a most valuable contemporary picture of pre-Roman Catholic, Celtic Christianity in Ireland and Scotland. Columba was an Irish prince at a time when the Irish clans were organized as much religiously as politically in monastic cadres. Born in 521, he died in 597, and his biographer, Adamnan, as abbot of the monastery on Iona which Columba founded for 25 years, from 679 to 704, had first hand information about the saint. The Life is full of strange prophecies (Book I) and miracles (Book II) and apparitions of angels (Book III), but is nevertheless historically invaluable.

Besides the biographies, Irish historiography, both ecclesiastical and secular, begins about the 7th c. with a continuation of the old Eusebian Chronicle (Jerome's translation and the sequel by Prosper of Aquitaine). At first only a column of Irish events was added, then this was expanded into continuous annals, ~~and~~ and formed the basis of the Annals of Tigernach, and the Annals of Ulster, etc. (Thompson, p. 159 f.)

In England, the various monastic annals of this kind were finally combined, in the 9th c. into the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the oldest historical work in the German tongue" and "the supreme example of Old English prose." It carries the story of the nation, with particular emphasis on the church, from the 7th century through the Norman Conquest and on up to the year 1154. (Thompson, p. 160 f.)

GREGORY OF TOURS

(538-594 A.D.)

Gregory of Tours (his real name was Georgius Florentius) has been called the greatest historian of the Latin West, except for Bede, between Ammianus Marcellinus, (the 4th c. friend of the Emperor Julian and author of the last history of Rome) and the renaissance of civilization under Charlemagne at the end of the 8th century. (Thompson, Hist. of Historical Writing, p. 148). He is the author of the History of the Kings of the Franks, the only source we have of the early history of the Franks and of the conversion of the Frankish nation.

He was born into a highly aristocratic Roman family in Gaul, numbering senators, bishops, counts and a duke among his ancestors and relatives. As a boy sick with fever, he vowed to dedicate his life to the ministry if he recovered, and was ordained a deacon when he was 25, and made bishop by popular demand when he was 30, in 573 A.D.

Gregory was a great bishop, defending the rights of the church and the oppressed in the midst of terrible civil war in Gaul and against barbaric injustices of the Merovingian kings, the sons and grandsons of Clovis, founder of the kingdom, which was to be the most enduring of all the barbarian states built upon the ruins of Rome. It is the story of the beginning of this nation which Gregory, in his rough Latin and vigorous style tells. Though a Roman Gaul, he seems to bear no malice against the Germanic Franks who had conquered the land only fifty years or so before he was born. As a Christian, he is proud of the conversion of the invading Franks, but as a historian he shows them exactly as they were--cruel, violent, often half-pagan.

J.W. Thompson says of Gregory: "He is one of the most interesting and one of the most genuine of all medieval historians, with the naivete of a child, the simplicity and charity of a saint, and the loyalty of a hero to his rights and his ideals. He is the first really medieval man, together with Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636)." (Hist. of His. Writing, p. 149)

Gregory wrote other books--Miracles of St. Martin; Gloria Martyrum; Gloria Confessorum, and Vitae Patrum--but it is the History of the Franks for which he is remembered. It is "the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography" (Ibid, p. 148). It consists of ten books:

Book I - extends from creation to the death of St. Martin of Tours in 397, and quotes largely from Eusebius, Jerome and Orosius.

Book II - carries the history to the death of Clovis in 511, with a history of the Frankish conquests, partly based on Renatus Frigidarius and Sulpicius Alexander, fifth c. historians whose works are lost.

Book III - extends to the death of Theodebert I, king of Austrasia in 547, and from here to the end the book is based on first-hand oral tradition and authorities.

Book IV - to the death of Sigebert of Austrasia in 575

Book V - the first five years of Childebert II (575-580)

Book VI - to the death of Childebert in 584

Gregory of Tours - 2

Book VII - the year 585

Book VIII - outside events, reported only at second-hand.

Book IX - the years 587-589

Book X - the years 589-591

The best English edition of the History is that by O. M. Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours (Oxford, 1927, 2 v.), of which volume I is a very complete introduction on the life of Gregory and the civilization of Frankish Gaul; and vol. II is the English translation of the History.

The great value of the History is its remarkably detailed picture of turbulent Gaul in the sixth century in the first generations after the conversion of its barbarian conquerors, under Clovis, first King of the Franks. The conversion of Clovis in 496 A.D. was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. The Franks (ancestors of the French) were a tribe of German barbarians moving like a scourge of locusts into Roman Gaul as the power of Rome declined. Clovis (466-511) became King of the Eastern Franks when he was sixteen, a young and savage chief fighting against other German tribes on the north and against Rome on the south. But in 493 he married a Christian princess from Burgundy, Chlotilda. A few years later, in a tribal war, he was almost defeated and thought he was about to die. He cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda praises as the Son of the living God" help me. If you do, I will believe and be baptized. Almost at that very moment the enemy king fell in the battle and his troops panicked and fled. Clovis kept his promise. He came home and told his queen he was not only ready to become a Christian himself but would also make 5000 of his ~~troops~~ troops turn Christian with him.

The question comes, as Gregory tells the history not only of the conversion, but of the life of Clovis and his sons after conversion, How real was the conversion? He was probably the most wicked Christian king in history, butchering his own family, looting towns, massacring whole villages. (F. J. Foakes Jackson, Hist. of Church History, p. 101) And as one historian has observed, "His blackest deeds were done after his baptism" (Rettberg, quoted in T. S. Smith, Mediaeval Missions, p. 23)

Gregory of Tours, with his naive emphasis on saints' miracles, his honest picture of the brutality of Christian kings and the corruption of some Christian priests and bishops, his courage in defense of the faith against pagan violence and misunderstandings, leaves us with an unforgettable glimpse of northern Europe as it really was in the crisis of its conquest and conversion: still a pagan land with only a veneer of Christianity, but with enough saints and honest bishops to suggest that the victory will be with the Christian faith. The fact remains ~~that~~ that as the baptism of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and for centuries toward ~~the~~ Christianity, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years.

H. Wace & W.C. Piercy, A Dictionary of Christian Biography & Literature. London, 1911

J. W. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, vol. I. N.Y., 1942

F. J. Foakes Jackson, A History of Church History, Cambridge, 1939

GREGORY OF TOURS

(538-594 A.D.)

Gregory of Tours (his real name was Georgius Florentius) has been called the greatest historian of the Latin West, except for Bede, between Ammianus Marcellinus, (the 4th c. friend of the Emperor Julian and author of the last history of Rome) and the renaissance of civilization under Charlemagne at the end of the 8th century. (Thompson, Hist. of Historical Writing, p. 148). He is the author of the History of the Kings of the Franks, the only source we have of the early history of the Franks and of the conversion of the Frankish nation.

He was born into a highly aristocratic Roman family in Gaul, numbering senators, bishops, counts and a duke among his ancestors and relatives. As a boy sick with fever, he vowed to dedicate his life to the ministry if he recovered, and was ordained a deacon when he was 25, and made bishop by popular demand when he was 30, in 573 A.D.

Gregory was a great bishop, defending the rights of the church and the oppressed in the midst of terrible civil war in Gaul and against barbaric injustices of the Merovingian kings, the sons and grandsons of Clovis, founder of the kingdom, which was to be the most enduring or all the barbarian states built upon the ruins of Rome. It is the story of the beginning of this nation which Gregory, in his rough Latin and vigorous style tells. Though a Roman Gaul, he seems to bear no malice against the Germanic Franks who had conquered the land only fifty years or so before he was born. As a Christian, he is proud of the conversion of the invading Franks, but as a historian he shows them exactly as they were--cruel, violent, often half-pagan.

J.W. Thompson says of Gregory: "He is one of the most interesting and one of the most genuine of all medieval historians, with the naivete of a child, the simplicity and charity of a saint, and the loyalty of a hero to his rights and his ideals. He is the first really medieval man, together with Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636)." (Hist. of His. Writing, p. 149)

Gregory wrote other books--Miracles of St. Martin; Gloria Martyrum; Gloria Confessorum, and Vitae Patrum--but it is the History of the Franks for which he is remembered. It is "the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography" (Ibid, p. 148). It consists of ten books:

Book I - extends from creation to the death of St. Martin of Tours in 398, and quotes largely from Eusebius, Jerome and Orosius.

Book II - carries the history to the death of Clovis in 511, with a history of the Frankish conquests, partly based on Renatus Frigidarius and Sulpicius Alexander, fifth c. historians whose works are lost.

Book III - extends to the death of Theodebert I, king of Austrasia in 547, and from here to the end the book is based on first-hand oral tradition and authorities.

Book IV - to the death of Sigebert of Austrasia in 575

Book V - the first five years of Childebert II (575-580)

Book VI - to the death of Childebert in 584

Book VII - the year 585

Book VIII - outside events, reported only at second-hand.

Book IX - the years 587-589

Book X - the years 589-591

The best English edition of the History is that by O. M. Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours (Oxford, 1927, 2 v.), of which volume I is a very complete introduction on the life of Gregory and the civilization of Frankish Gaul; and vol. II is the English translation of the History.

The great value of the History is its remarkably detailed picture of turbulent Gaul in the sixth century in the first generations after the conversion of its barbarian conquerors, under Clovis, first King of the Franks. The conversion of Clovis in 496 A.D. was a turning point in the history of the expansion of Christianity into northern Europe. The Franks (ancestors of the French) were a tribe of German barbarians moving like a scourge of locusts into Roman Gaul as the power of Rome declined. Clovis (466-511) became King of the Eastern Franks when he was sixteen, a young and savage chief fighting against other German tribes on the north and against Rome on the south. But in 493 he married a Christian princess from Burgundy, Chlotilda. A few years later, in a tribal war, he was almost defeated and thought he was about to die. He cried out, "Jesus Christ, whom Chlotilda praises as the Son of the living God" help me. If you do, I will believe and be baptized. Almost at that very moment the enemy king fell in the battle and his troops panicked and pled. Clovis kept his promise. He came home and told his queen he was not only ready to become a Christian himself but would also make 5000 of his ~~troops~~ troops turn Christian with him.

The question comes, as Gregory tells the history not only of the conversion, but of the life of Clovis and his sons after conversion. How real was the conversion? He was probably the most wicked Christian king in history, butchering his own family, looting towns, massacring whole villages. (F. J. Foakes Jackson, Hist. of Church History, p. 101) And as one historian has observed, "His blackest deeds were done after his baptism" (Rettberg, quoted in T. S. Smith, Mediaeval Missions, p. 23)

Gregory of Tours, with his naive emphasis on saints' miracles, his honest picture of the brutality of Christian kings and the corruption of some Christian priests and bishops, his courage in defense of the faith against pagan violence and misunderstandings, leaves us with an unforgettable glimpse of northern Europe as it really was in the crisis of its conquest and conversion: still a pagan land with only a veneer of Christianity, but with enough saints and honest bishops to suggest that the victory will be with the Christian faith. The fact remains ~~that~~ that as the baptism of Constantine turned the history of the Roman world decisively and for centuries toward ~~the~~ Christianity, so with the baptism of Clovis, France became Christian for the next 1300 years.

H. Wace & W.C. Piercy, A Dictionary of Christian Biography & Literature. London, 1911

J. W. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, vol. I. N.Y., 1942

F. J. Foakes Jackson, A History of Church History, Cambridge, 1939

CHURCH HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Modern secular historians, who have never dealt kindly with church history in any age, are particularly critical of the ecclesiastical historians of the middle ages. They dismiss them as child-like, credulous, superstitious, un factual and always biased. The German historian, Heinrich von Sybel, condemned it thus:

"This period possessed no idea of historical judgment, no sense of historical reality, no trace of critical reflection. The principal of authority, ruling without limitation in the religious domain, defended all tradition, as well as traditional dogma. Men were everywhere more inclined to believe than to examine. No distinction was made between ideal and real, between poetical and historical truth.. Almost no one felt any scruples in giving to existing conditions the sanction of venerable age by means of fabricated history or forged documents..." 1

There can indeed be no defense of the historical methods of a man like Andreas Agnellus, Bishop of Ravenna about 850 A.D. who has been praised even in modern times for his scholarship but who is a particularly flagrant example of "pious falsification" of history. G. G. Coulton of Cambridge, the mediaevalist, quotes his own discription of his methods:

"where I have not found any history of these bishops (he was compiling a series of historical biographies of the bishops of Ravenna), and have not been able by conversation with aged men, or inspection of the monuments, or from any other authentic source, to obtain information concerning them, in such a case, in order ~~to~~ that there might not be a break in the series, I have composed the life myself, with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren". 2

Nevertheless, with all their faults, it is to these monks and bishops of the middle ages that we owe almost all the historical knowledge left us of that confusing period. No one else had the concern or patience or learning to write history. Moreover, they wrote under great difficulties: a decline of civilization, destruction of books and libraries, and extreme geographical and political isolation.

We have already surveyed some of the leading figures in the writing of church history during the transition between the classical period and the middle ages: Cassiodorus (ca. 480- ca. 570), Jordanes (ca. 550), Procopius (ca. 500-565). Cassiodorus not only continued the earlier classical church histories, but wrote of Ostrogothic Rome. Jordanes wrote on the Goths; and Procopius of church in the Byzantine east. Important transitional historians were Gregory of Tours (538-594) and his History of the Franks, and the Venerable Bede (672-735) with his Ecclesiastical History of the English People.

Two other works of this period which we did not study last term should be added to the list. The first is History of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon (ca. 730-800) which preserved many sources and was widely read in the Middle Ages, but was poor in chronology.

When Charlemagne invaded Italy and conquered the Lombard kingdom, Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard nobleman, entered the famous Monte Cassino monastery as a deacon. He had already written a Roman History, and was now asked by Charlemagne to write the history of his own people, tracing their Scandinavian ancestry and conquest of Italy before falling to the Franks in the 8th century. His History carries their story down to 744 A.D.

The other outstanding history of the period is a biography, Einhard's Vita Caroli (Life of Charlemagne). It describes the fall of the Merovingian dynasty founded by Clovis, first King of the Franks, and the rise of the Carolingians under Charlemagne's father and grandfather; Charlemagne's conquests of Italy and Germany, culminating on Christmas Day, 800, when he was crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope Leo III, and what is called the Holy Roman Empire began, that complex, shifting coalition of church and state that was to last a thousand years (to 1806). Einhard was a monk from the monastery of Fulda who became the emperor's secretary and knew Charlemagne intimately. He has been called "the most famous historian of the Carolingian renaissance" (Thompson, p. 166)

Another famous biography of the period should also be mentioned, though it was noted in the survey of missionary biographies of the 8th century, last term. It is the Life of Sturmi, abbot of Fulda (d. 779) by Eigil who was one of his successors as abbot (818-822). Sturmi was Boniface's favorite disciple. It is the "best biography of a churchman of Charlemagne's reign". (Ibid, p. 169)

It is in this period that another form of church history becomes exceedingly important: the monastic annals. The most important single series of annals are the Annals of Fulda, which cover the period from 680 to 901, written in Germany. Beginning very simply, often with only a single sentence summary of what was considered the most important event of a year, for example: (from Annals of St. Gall)

"709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died"

by the end of the Middle Ages these had developed into systematic historical writing. At first they were called either Annals or Chronicles, but as they grew in scope and size the title Chronicle usually meant a more detailed and systematic treatment of history.

In England the most famous work of this sort was the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, noted last term, which probably grew out of a combination of several monastic Annals, and finally covered the history of England and its church from the 7th century to the year 1159. It is supplemented and extended by the great collection of monastic annals produced at St. Albans Abbey (20 m. north of London) founded by the Normans in the 11th century. The monks there began to keep their chronicle about the year 1180, and a whole school of monks kept it up down to 1327. The most famous of the St. Albans school of church historians were Roger of Wendover (who brought the record to 1235) and Matthew Paris, who was not only a monk, but a scholar, artist, courtier and man of the world,--"the 13th century editor of the (London) Times," he has been called, (p. 279) and "the ablest historian of mediaeval England. Better than any other historian of the age he freed himself from religious and mythical interests and devoted himself to the story of political developments. He was the incomparable authority on English constitutional developments between the Magna Carta and the rise of Parliament." (Barnes, Hist. of Hist. Writing,

Even before the end of the period covered by the chronicles of the St. Albans school, English historical writing which had been pioneered by the monk Gildas (ca. 516-70) in his Book of Complaints Touching the Destruction of Britain by the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and by the incomparable Bede (672-735), was resumed under the Normans by the monk of Canterbury, Eadmer (ca. 1060-ca. 1124). He wrote a history of his own times, titled Historia novorum in Anglia which centered around the revival of the English church Anselm, under whom Eadmer had studied.

But the greatest of the Norman historians was William of Malmesbury, who stands next to Bede in the line of English historical writing. With him begins a new school of historiography, based on critical and careful use of authorities and source materials, and a distinction between external and internal criticism, that is, between what can be learned from critical study of the text itself, and what throws light on the text from other sources of information.

William of Malmesbury was half Norman (the son of a French knight) and half English. He was a monk in the abbey of Wiltshire which had a famous library, and there he studied logic, theology, medicine and history, and collected a valuable repository of old manuscripts. The two works for which he is famous are:

1. Lives of the Kings of England, 449-1125.
2. Lives of the Bishops and Abbots of England, 601-1125.

In both works he tracked down with great persistence all the available source materials, and wrote with great historical balance and impartiality, tracing not only the lives of the men who made history, but also the development of social and political institutions. "He was," says Thompson, quoting Stubbs, "the first writer after Bede who attempted to give his details of dates and events such a systematic connection, in the way of cause and sequence, as entitled them to the name of History". (p. 252).

The most important contribution of French historians of the period was in the field of the history of the Crusades. The First Crusade (1096-1099) produced three historians: ⁽¹⁾ Robert the Monk who wrote the oldest complete history of the Crusade, and one which was very popular, translated into French, German, and Italian from the Latin, though it is of poor historical value; ⁽²⁾ Fulcher of Chartres, who was the most important historian of the Crusade, careful in his chronology and figures, and powerful ⁽³⁾ as an eye-witness recorder of many of the events he describes; and Guibert de Nogent, who, unlike most religious historians of the period, noted the relationship of economic conditions and nationalistic emotions to the rise of the crusading spirit. The best general French history of the Crusades, says Barnes (p. 75) is William of Tyre. His History of Jerusalem describes the movements that shook the Holy Land from 1095 to 1184. He himself was born in the East; knew Latin, Byzantine Greek and Arabic; and became Archbishop of Tyre after the Second Crusade (1147-1149) when he wrote his 23 books of History of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, down to 1184. The work was continued to 1231 by Ernoul, in Le Livres Eracles, and by Bernard the Treasurer. The combined works of William of Tyre, Ernoul and Bernard were often presented as one-history under the title, Chronique d'Outremer.

The Fourth Crusade (1202-04) produced one of the most trustworthy historical accounts of all the many records written of the wars, the Memoirs of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, which is also called by the title The Conquest of Constantinople. The title underlines the tragic fact that the crusade, which started out as a holy war against the infidels in Egypt ended up as "a gigantic buccaneering expedition" against the crusaders' unorthodox fellow-Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire. Villehardouin's book is noteworthy not only as a masterful description of mediaeval chivalry, and an honest account by a great noble and high leader of the crusade, but even more importantly as "the first medieval historical book of importance written in the vernacular". (Barnes, p. 75). Unlike his churchly contemporaries who wrote in ecclesiastical Latin, Marshal Villehardouin wrote in racy, understandable Old French and made history available to the people.

Of the troubled and complex history of Italy and its church in this early mediaeval period, little need be said, but three writers should be mentioned, one from the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and two from the 11th century, Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius rose to the rank of ~~senior~~ cardinal, but became ^{involved} in the political-ecclesiastical intrigues of the time as an anti-pope, three times being excommunicated, but finally found peace and a life-work as the extremely able papal librarian under two of the best popes of the ninth century, Hadrian II and John VIII. His great contribution to church history was a continuation of the work of Cassiodorus, the 6th c. historian. Just as Cassiodorus had combined the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret in his Historia Tripartita, now in the ninth century Anastasius undertook to make known to the West the works of three Eastern historians, Nicephorus, Syncellus and Theophanes in a history which he called Chronographia Tripartita, translating them from Greek into Latin. The portions of Nicephorus and Syncellus, however, only repeat Roman history down to the time of Diocletian, 284 A.D., and are not important, but his introduction of the history of Theophanes, which extends to 813, is the best treatment of the empire and church of the Eastern Empire known in the West at that time. We will survey the Eastern historians in another section, but it might be well to mention here that Theophanes (758-817) ~~was~~ though a cousin of the Emperor, ~~but~~ lived the life of an ascetic monk and was a strong defender of veneration of relics and images in the Iconoclastic Controversies, which his Chronicle describes. Anastasius was also probably the compiler of the very important Liber Pontificalis (Book of Popes), a collection of old lives of the Popes extending back as far as the fourth century. Anastasius (probably) was the one who collected these and combined them into the only "sustained history" of the pontificate written up to that time. It was later continued and broadened.

The two eleventh century Italian historians, Leo Marsicanus of Ostia, and Peter the Deacon are remembered for their official history of the great monastery of Monte Cassino, "one of the best historical chronicles of the Middle Ages" (Thompson, p. 211). Leo began it and carried the record to the year 1075; and Peter the Deacon, who unfortunately was not above some pious forgery of documents, continued it down to 1115.

CHURCH HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Modern secular historians, who have never dealt kindly with church history in any age, are particularly critical of the ecclesiastical historians of the middle ages. They dismiss ~~it~~ as child-like, credulous, superstitious, unfactual and always biased. The German historian, Heinrich von Sybel, condemned it thus:

"This period possessed no idea of historical judgment, no sense of historical reality, no trace of critical reflection. The principal of authority, ruling without limitation in the religious domain, defended all tradition, as well as traditional dogma. Men were everywhere more inclined to believe than to examine. No distinction was made between ideal and real, between poetical and historical truth.. Almost no one felt any scruples in giving to existing conditions the sanction of venerable age by means of fabricated history or forged documents..." 1

There can indeed be no defense of the historical methods of a man like Andreas Agnellus, Bishop of Ravenna about 850 A.D. who has been praised even in modern times for his scholarship but who is a particularly flagrant example of "pious falsification" of history. G. G. Coulton of Cambridge, the mediaevalist, quotes his own discription of his methods:

"Where I have not found any history of these bishops (he was compiling a series of historical biographies of the bishops of Ravenna), and have not been able by conversation with aged men, or inspection of the monuments, or from any other authentic source, to obtain information concerning them, in such a case, in order ~~to~~ that there might not be a break in the series, I have composed the life myself, with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren". 2

Nevertheless, with all their faults, it is to these monks and bishops of the middle ages that we owe almost all the historical knowledge left us of that confusing period. No one else had the concern or patience or learning to write history. Moreover, they wrote under great difficulties: a decline of civilization, destruction of books and libraries, and extreme geographical and political isolation.

We have already surveyed some of the leading figures in the writing of church history during the transition between the classical period and the middle ages: Cassiodorus (ca. 480- ca. 570), Jordanes (ca. 550), Procopius (ca. 500-565). Cassiodorus not only continued the earlier classical church histories, but wrote of Ostrogothic Rome. Jordanes wrote on the Goths; and Procopius of church in the Byzantine east. Even more important transitional historians were Gregory of Tours (538-594) and his History of the Franks, and the Venerable Bede (672-735) with his Ecclesiastical History of the English People.

Two other works of this period which we did not study last term should be added to the list. The first is History of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon (ca. 730-800) which preserved many sources and was widely read in the Middle Ages, but was poor in chronology.

When Charlemagne invaded Italy and conquered the Lombard kingdom, Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard nobleman, entered the famous Monte Cassino monastery as a deacon. He had already written a Roman History, and was now asked by Charlemagne to write the history of his own people, tracing their Scandinavian ancestry and conquest of Italy before falling to the Franks in the 8th century. His History carries their story down to 744 A.D.

The other outstanding history of the period is a biography, Einhard's Vita Caroli (Life of Charlemagne). It describes the fall of the Merovingian dynasty founded by Clvis, first King of the Franks, and the rise of the Carolingians under Charlemagne's father and grandfather; Charlemagne's conquests of Italy and Germany, culminating on Christmas Day, 800, when he was crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope Leo III, and what is called the Holy Roman Empire began, that complex, shifting coalition of church and state that was to last a thousand years (to 1806). Einhard was a monk from the monastery of Fulda who became the emperor's secretary and knew Charlemagne intimately. He has been called "the most famous historian of the Carolingian renaissance" (Thompson, p. 166)

Another famous biography of the period should also be mentioned, though it was noted in the survey of missionary biographies of the 8th century, last term. It is the Life of Sturmi, abbot of Fulda (d. 779) by Eigil who was one of his successors as abbot (818-822). Sturmi was Boniface's favorite disciple. It is the "best biography of a churchman of Charlemagne's reign". (Ibid, p. 169)

It is in this period that another form of church history becomes exceedingly important: the monastic annals. The most important single series of annals are the Annals of Fulda, which cover the period from 680 to 901, written in Germany. Beginning very simply, often with only a single sentence summary of what was considered the most important event of a year, for example: (from Annals of St. Gall)

"709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died"

by the end of the Middle Ages these had developed into systematic historical writing. At first they were called either Annals or Chronicles, but as they grew in scope and size the title Chronicle usually meant a more detailed and systematic treatment of history.

In England the most famous work of this sort was the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, noted last term, which probably grew out of a combination of several monastic Annals, and finally covered the history of England and its church from the 7th century to the year 1159. It is supplemented and extended by the great collection of monastic annals produced at St. Albans Abbey (20 m. north of London) founded by the Normans in the 11th century. The monks there began to keep their chronicle about the year 1180, and a whole school of monks kept it up down to 1327. The most famous of the St. Albans school of church historians were Roger of Wendover (who brought the record to 1235) and Matthew Paris, who was not only a monk, but a scholar, artist, courtier and man of the world,--"the 13th century editor of the (London) Times," he has been called, (p. 279) and "the ablest historian of mediaeval England. Better than any other historian of the age he freed himself from religious and mythical interests and devoted himself to the story of political developments. He was the incomparable authority on English constitutional developments between the Magna Carta and the rise of Parliament." (Barnes, Hist. of Hist. Writing,

Even before the end of the period covered by the chronicles of the St. Albans school, English historical writing which had been pioneered by the monk Gildas (ca. 516-70) in his Book of Complaints Touching the Destruction of Britain by the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and by the incomparable Bede (672-735), was resumed under the Normans by the monk of Canterbury, Eadmer (ca. 1060-ca. 1124). He wrote a history of his own times, titled Historia novorum in Anglia which centered around the revival of the English church Anselm, under whom Eadmer had studied.

But the greatest of the Norman historians was William of Malmesbury, who stands next to Bede in the line of English historical writing. With him begins a new school of historiography, based on critical and careful use of authorities and source materials, and a distinction between external and internal criticism, that is, between what can be learned from critical study of the text itself, and what throws light on the text from other sources of information.

William of Malmesbury was half Norman (the son of a French knight) and half English. He was a monk in the abbey of Wiltshire which had a famous library, and there he studied logic, theology, medicine and history, and collected a valuable repository of old manuscripts. The two works for which he is famous are:

1. Lives of the Kings of England, 449-1125.
2. Lives of the Bishops and Abbots of England, 601-1125.

In both works he tracked down with great persistence all the available source materials, and wrote with great historical balance and impartiality, tracing not only the lives of the men who made history, but also the development of social and political institutions. "He was," says Thompson, quoting Stubbs, "the first writer after Bede who attempted to give his details of dates and events such a systematic connection, in the way of cause and sequence, as entitled them to the name of History". (p. 252).

The most important contribution of French historians of the period was in the field of the history of the Crusades. The First Crusade (1096-1099) produced three historians: Robert the Monk who wrote the oldest complete history of the Crusade, and one which was very popular, translated into French, German and Italian from the Latin, though it is of poor historical value; Fulcher of Chartres, who was the most important historian of the Crusade, careful in his chronology and figures, and powerful as an eye-witness recorder of many of the events he describes; and Guibert de Nogent, who, unlike most religious historians of the period, noted the relationship of economic conditions and nationalistic emotions to the rise of the crusading spirit. The best general French history of the Crusades, says Barnes (p. 75) is William of Tyre. His History of Jerusalem describes the movements that shook the Holy Land from 1095 to 1184. He himself was born in the East; knew Latin, Byzantine Greek and Arabic; and became Archbishop of Tyre after the Second Crusade (1147-1149) when he wrote his 23 books of History of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, down to 1184. The work was continued to 1231 by Ernoul, in Le Livres Eracles, and by Bernard the Treasurer. The combined works of William of Tyre, Ernoul and Bernard were often presented as one history under the title, Chronique d'Outremer.

The Fourth Crusade. (1202-04) produced one of the most trustworthy historical accounts of all the many records written of the wars, the Memoirs of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, which is also called by the title The Conquest of Constantinople. The title underlines the tragic fact that the crusade, which started out as a holy war against the infidels in Egypt ended up as "a gigantic buccaneering expedition" against the crusaders' unorthodox fellow-Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire. Villehardouin's book is noteworthy not only as a masterful description of mediaeval chivalry, and an honest account by a great noble and high leader of the crusade, but even more importantly as "the first medieval historical book of importance written in the vernacular". (Barnes, p. 75). Unlike his churchly contemporaries who wrote in ecclesiastical Latin, Marshal Villehardouin wrote in racy, understandable Old French and made history available to the people.

Of the troubled and complex history of Italy and its church in this early mediaeval period, little need be said, but three writers should be mentioned, one from the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and two from the 11th century, Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius rose to the rank of ~~his~~ cardinal, but became ^{involved} in the political-ecclesiastical intrigues of the time as an anti-pope, three times being excommunicated. But finally found peace and a life-work as the extremely able papal librarian under two of the best popes of the ninth century, Hadrian II and John VIII. His great contribution to church history was a continuation of the work of Cassiodorus, the 6th c. historian. Just as Cassiodorus had combined the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret in his Historia Tripartita, now in the ninth century Anastasius undertook to make known to the West the works of three Eastern historians, Nicephorus, Syncellus and Theophanes in a history which he called Chronographia Tripartita, translating them from Greek into Latin. The portions of Nicephorus and Syncellus, however, only repeat Roman history down to the time of Diocletian, 284 A.D., and are not important, but his introduction of the history of Theophanes, which extends to 813, is the best treatment of the empire and church of the Eastern Empire known in the West at that time. We will survey the Eastern historians in another section, but it might be well to mention here that Theophanes (758-817) ~~was~~ though a cousin of the Emperor, ~~but~~ lived the life of an ascetic monk and was a strong defender of veneration of relics and images in the Iconoclastic Controversies, which his Chronicle describes. Anastasius was also probably the compiler of the very important Liber Pontificalis (Book of Popes), a collection of old lives of the Popes extending back as far as the fourth century. Anastasius (probably) was the one who collected these and combined them into the only "sustained history" of the pontificate written up to that time. It was later continued and broadened.

The two eleventh century Italian historians, Leo Marsicanus of Ostia, and Peter the Deacon are remembered for their official history of the great monastery of Monte Cassino, "one of the best historical chronicles of the Middle Ages" (Thompson, p. 211). Leo began it and carried the record to the year 1075; and Peter the Deacon, who unfortunately was not above some pious forgery of documents, continued it down to 1115.

The Fourth Crusade. (1202-04) produced one of the most trustworthy historical accounts of all the many records written of the wars, the Memoirs of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, which is also called by the title The Conquest of Constantinople. The title underlines the tragic fact that the crusade, which started out as a holy war against the infidels in Egypt ended up as "a gigantic buccaneering expedition" against the crusaders' unorthodox fellow-Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire. Villehardouin's book is noteworthy not only as a masterful description of mediaeval chivalry, and an honest account by a great noble and high leader of the crusade, but even more importantly as "the first medieval historical book of importance written in the vernacular". (Barnes, p. 75). Unlike his churchly contemporaries who wrote in ecclesiastical Latin, Marshal Villehardouin wrote in racy, understandable Old French and made history available to the people.

Of the troubled and complex history of Italy and its church in this early mediæval period, little need be said, but three writers should be mentioned, one from the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and two from the 11th century, Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius rose to the rank of ~~lex~~ cardinal, but became ^{involved} in the political-ecclesiastical intrigues of the time as an anti-pope, three times being excommunicated, but finally found peace and a life-work as the extremely able papal librarian under two of the best popes of the ninth century, Hadrian II and John VIII. His great contribution to church history was a continuation of the work of Cassiodorus, the 6th c. historian. Just as Cassiodorus had combined the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret in his Historia Tripartita, now in the ninth century Anastasius undertook to make known to the West the works of three Eastern historians, Nicephorus, Syncellus and Theophanes in a history which he called Chronographia Tripartita, translating them from Greek into Latin. The portions of Nicephorus and Syncellus, however, only repeat Roman history down to the time of Diocletian, 284 A.D., and are not important, but his introduction of the history of Theophanes, which extends to 813, is the best treatment of the empire and church of the Eastern Empire known in the West at that time. We will survey the Eastern historians in another section, but it might be well to mention here that Theophanes (758-817) ~~was~~ though a cousin of the Emperor, ~~but~~ lived the life of an ascetic monk and was a strong defender of veneration of relics and images in the Iconoclastic Controversies, which his Chronicle describes. Anastasius was also probably the compiler of the very important Liber Pontificalis (Book of Popes), a collection of old lives of the Popes extending back as far as the fourth century. Anastasius (probably) was the one who collected these and combined them into the only "sustained history" of the pontificate written up to that time. It was later continued and broadened.

The two eleventh century Italian historians, Leo Marsicanus of Ostia, and Peter the Deacon are remembered for their official history of the great monastery of Monte Cassino, "one of the best historical chronicles of the Middle Ages" (Thompson, p. 211). Leo began it and carried the record to the year 1075; and Peter the Deacon, who unfortunately was not above some pious forgery of documents, continued it down to 1115.